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The "Recit des voyages et des découvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette."

(Concluded)

PART II

For reasons already indicated, the text of the *Récit* which we shall follow is that of the Montreal manuscript and the text of Marquette-5 for the two missing leaves. A word for word comparison between the Montreal copy and Marquette-5 makes it clear that the copyist of the latter made use of one of the copies sent to France, that he abbreviated words when there was no possibility of misunderstanding, omitted modifying adverbs, and did not transcribe in full the titles of the sections.¹ Textual criticism also shows that practically all the differences between the fragments of Marquette-4 and the Montreal manuscript are negligible, and that they are due merely to the idiosyncracies of the copyists.

The title of each of the three chapters begins with the same word: "Récit." We shall consider only the first chapter, in which the voyage of 1673 is narrated, because it is the only chapter whose authorship is disputed. The third chapter is of interest because it supplies a clue as to the date of composition of the whole document. We have already noted that the *Récit* is a part of the *Relation* of

¹ The title of the first section in the Montreal copy and in Marquette-4a reads as follows: "Depart du Pere Jacques Marquette pour la decouverte de la grande Riuiere appellée par les Sauuages Missisipi qui conduit au nouveau Mexique." In Marquette-5, this title is rendered thus: "Depart du P. J. Marquette pour la Riuiere de Missisipi &c."

1677–1678, which was written in the latter year, and we know from Dablon's letter to Boucher that he sent "this little work" to Ragueneau in October 1678. Material for the third chapter, in which the voyage of Allouez to the Illinois country is narrated, cannot have reached Quebec before the late summer of 1677, for Allouez left the Kaskaskia village after May 3 of this year.² Finally, the added paragraph in Dablon's handwriting, in which mention is made of the departure of Allouez to the Illinois country in 1678, is not found in the fourth fragment of Canada-4 nor in Canada-5. This means that Dablon inserted it in his own copy of the *Récit* after the "petit ouvrage" had been sent to France in 1678.

PREAMBLE³

All admit that Marquette is not the author of the preamble, but that, like the rest of the Relation of 1677–1678, it was written by Dablon. There would be no need of ascertaining the sources used to write the preamble, except that its analysis supplies interesting data with regard to Dablon's method of composition.

"Il y auoit longtemps que le Pere premeditoit [meditoit in Marquette-4a]⁴ Cette Entreprise porté d'un tres [this adverb is not in Marquette-5] grand desir . . ." Dablon's source for this statement is Marquette's letter to Father Le Mercier, which was inserted in the Relation of 1669–1670.⁵ In fact, the opening paragraph of the preamble is a paraphrase of a passage of this letter, in which Marquette says that he plans to go to the Mississippi with a Frenchman and an Indian interpreter in the autumn of 1670, and that he intends to descend the river as far as he can.

"En L'année 1673 M^r le Compte De Frontenac Nostre Gouverneur, (et M^r Talon alors Nostre Intendant)⁶ Connoissant L'Importance de cette découverte . . . nommerent en mesme temps pour cette entreprise Le Sieur Jolyet." Every manuscript gives 1673 as the year when Jolliet was selected to find the Mississippi. We know, however, that Talon had chosen him before Frontenac's arrival at Quebec at the beginning of September 1672, and that Frontenac

² JR, 60: 164.

³ For the text of the document the reader is referred to JR, 59: 86 ff.

⁴ Dablon had "premeditoit." See his letter of August 1, 1674: "et qui [Marquette] premeditoit depuis long temps cette entreprise." Throughout this article the references to Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, are to the text published in *MID-AMERICA*, 26 (1944): 317–324.

⁵ JR, 54: 168–194.

⁶ The words in parentheses are not in Marquette-4a, but are in Marquette-5, which means that Marquette-5 was not made on this copy of the *Récit*.

approved Talon's choice.⁷ Dablon begins his letter of August 1, 1674, with the following words: "Il y a deux ans que Monsieur le Comte de frontenac et M^r Talon alors nostre Intendant, jugerent . . ." It may well be that the copyist misread the last digit, for Dablon's handwriting is not easy to decipher; Dablon himself, however, did not correct the figure when he proofread the Montreal copy.

In the same paragraph Dablon explains why Frontenac and Talon considered the discovery of the Mississippi important: "soit pour chercher vn passage d'icy jusqua (la mer de la chine, par la riuiere qui se décharge a)⁸ la Mer Vermeille ou Californie, soit qu'on voulu s'asseurer de ce qu'on a dit du depuis touchant⁹ les 2 Roÿaumes de Theguao et de Quiuira,¹⁰ Limitrophes du Canada, ou l'on tient que les mines d'or sont abondantes."

We know that as early as 1670, Talon was interested in finding a waterway which would lead to the "Sea of the South [Mar del Zur, the Pacific Ocean] which separates this continent from China,"¹¹ but from the same letter as well as from St. Lusson's procès-verbal¹² we also know that such a discovery was then a secondary consideration. In his letter to Colbert in which he notifies the Minister of Jolliet's return,¹³ Frontenac mentions the explorer's belief that the Vermilion Sea or the Sea of California may be reached by way of one of the western tributaries of the Mississippi.¹⁴ Frontenac was never very much interested in finding a waterway to the Sea of the South or to any other sea.¹⁵ It was Dablon who had long been interested in such a discovery,¹⁶ and who assumed that his own interest was shared by Talon and Frontenac.

The alternative objective of the voyage, namely, the verification of what had been said since 1672 about the rich gold mines of Theguayo and Quivira, is an incongruous anachronism, for in 1672 neither Dablon, nor Talon, least of all Frontenac, had any idea of

⁷ "Louis Jolliet. The Middle Years," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 68.

⁸ The words in parentheses are not in Marquette-4a, but are in Marquette-5. See *supra*, note 6.

⁹ In JR, 59: 87, the rendering "or because they desired to verify what has for some time been said concerning . . ." does not bring out the anachronism.

¹⁰ On Theguayo, see JR, 59: 307, note 15. Quivira has been located in Kansas, in Nebraska, in Missouri and in Texas.

¹¹ Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, RAPQ, 1931, 136.

¹² On this document, see "Louis Jolliet. Early Years," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 18, note 67.

¹³ Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 77.

¹⁴ See Jolliet's dedicatory letter in "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 227.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 221.

¹⁶ JR, 54: 136.

what was subsequently said about the two "kingdoms" bordering on Canada. Dablon is very likely referring to Bernou's plan for conquering these countries. Since this plan only took shape in 1676,¹⁷ after Bernou had become acquainted with Peñalosa who arrived in France in 1674, it is clear that "ce qu'on a dit du depuis" concerning Théguayo and Quivira cannot have influenced Talon or Frontenac in Canada in 1672.

To carry out the undertaking, Frontenac and Talon chose Jolliet "quils jugerent tres propres [propre in Marquette-4a and in Marquette-5] pour vn si grand dessein, estant bien aise [aises in Marquette-4a] que le P. Marquette fut de la partie."

The first of these two variants is an error of the copyist of the Montreal manuscript. The sense is clear, for it is Jolliet who was considered fit for so great an undertaking. But it makes a great difference whether Dablon wrote the word "aise" in the singular or in the plural. If he wrote "aise" he meant that Jolliet was well pleased to have Marquette accompanying him; if he wrote "aises," he meant that Frontenac and Talon were well pleased to have Marquette accompanying Jolliet.

If Talon did not know in 1672 that a Jesuit was to accompany Jolliet, he learned it in France early in 1673, for in the letter transmitting the Relation of 1671-1672, Dablon wrote:

We expect no less result from the expedition which M. the Count de Frontenac and M. Talon, in deference to the wishes of his Majesty, have sent for the discovery of the Sea of the South, which will probably give us access to the great China and Japan seas. *The Father* and the Frenchmen who are being sent on that hazardous expedition, have need of much courage and prudence in their quest of unknown seas over an entirely new route of three or four hundred leagues and through nations which have never seen any European.¹⁸

We have no means of knowing whether on learning this fact—on the supposition that he did know it in 1672—Talon was well pleased, or simply pleased, or not pleased at all.¹⁹

¹⁷ "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," *MID-AMERICA*, 28 (1946): 13-31.

¹⁸ JR, 55: 234-236.

¹⁹ Those who theorize about Talon's and Frontenac's opposition to a Jesuit taking part in a government expedition conveniently ignore that in 1671 Talon asked for a Jesuit to accompany Paul Denis, Sieur de Saint-Simon to Hudson Bay. Father Albanel was chosen (JR, 56: 148). Cf. Talon to Colbert, November 2, 1671, RAPQ, 1931, 158. And in 1673, when Frontenac heard that Des Groseilliers was enticing the Indians away from the French and was attracting them to Hudson Bay, he "determined to make use of the zeal of Father Albanel, a Jesuit, who wished to go and open a mission in that part of the country."—Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 50.

This paragraph of Dablon's letter of transmittal disposes of Lorin's theory that the Jesuits did everything in their power to keep from Frontenac the fact that a Jesuit had accompanied Jolliet.²⁰ Dablon's letter written in November 1672 was printed in the first months of 1673, and the Relation in which it appears may have reached Quebec by the autumn of this year or at the latest in the summer of 1674. Frontenac may not have read the whole Relation, but he certainly read Dablon's letter, in which his name is mentioned in the second and in the fourth paragraphs. In the fourth paragraph, after speaking of the projected discovery of a route to the Sea of the South, Dablon says: "*The Father and the Frenchmen who are being sent on that hazardous expedition . . .*" When Dablon wrote this letter, he knew that it would come back in print in Canada, and that Frontenac would see it. This is certainly not doing everything in one's power to keep from Frontenac the knowledge that a Jesuit accompanied Jolliet. We can be quite sure that if Frontenac had been opposed to a Jesuit's going with Jolliet, he would have protested in his letters to Colbert in 1673 or in 1674 when he heard about it.

Father Steck's theory is that when Frontenac heard that Marquette had accompanied Jolliet "he did not fail to manifest his displeasure by slighting Jolliet and openly supporting La Salle's project of westward exploration."²¹ We have examined elsewhere the so-called "facts" advanced to bolster this theory.²² We have also shown that by November 1674, Frontenac knew that Marquette had gone with Jolliet,²³ and we have just seen that by that time the governor had certainly read Dablon's letter of transmittal. Frontenac's supposed resentment would certainly have been shown in his letter of November 14, 1674, in which he notifies the Minister of the issue of the voyage of 1673.

The third and last paragraph of the preamble contains an eulogy of Jolliet. Dablon speaks of the explorer's fitness, enumerates his qualities for the undertaking, and tells of the unfortunate accident that befell him in sight of Montreal when his canoe capsized. The matter for this paragraph of the *Récit* is taken from two paragraphs of Dablon's own letter of August 1, 1674; clauses and expressions in the *Récit* are taken verbatim from that letter.

Thévenot did not print the preamble nor the first section of the

²⁰ H. Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac* (Paris, 1895), 77, 93, 99.

²¹ *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 237.

²² "Louis Jolliet. The Middle Years," *loc. cit.*, 75-78.

²³ "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *MID-AMERICA*, 26 (1944): 312-314.

Récit. Consequently this eulogy of Jolliet written by Dablon remained unknown until Shea published the Montreal manuscript. It is quite ridiculous to blame Dablon or the Jesuits for minimizing the share of Jolliet on the ground that Thévenot did not see fit to print the whole Récit. The manner in which Dablon speaks of Jolliet also shows that there was no "estrangement between him and the Jesuits";²⁴ for the Relation of 1677-1678 is a confidential report to the higher superiors in Europe, which was not intended for publication. If Jolliet "had taken to heart" Frontenac's "displeasure" because Marquette had gone with him, and if Jolliet had become "estranged" from the Jesuits, Dablon would not have written such an eulogy in 1678.

There are several statements in the last paragraph of the preamble which deserve more extensive comments. Speaking of Jolliet, Dablon says: "Il a l'expérience, et la Connoissance des Langues du Païs des Outaouacs, ou il a passé plusieurs années." The parallel passage in the letter of August 1, 1674, reads as follows: "Ils [Frontenac and Talon] ne purent faire choix de personne qui eust de plus belles qualités que du sieur Jolliet, qui a beaucoup fréquenté ce pays là [the Ottawa country]."

I endeavored elsewhere to identify the Jolliet whom MM. Dollier and Galinée met near present-day Hamilton, Ontario, in the last days of September 1669,²⁵ and came to the conclusion that this Jolliet was Adrien, Louis' elder brother. I showed that there were good reasons to believe that Adrien died before or during the summer of 1670, for only the death of the Jolliet whom Talon had sent to the West in 1669 explained the silence of the intendant in his letter of November 10, 1670.²⁶ If the Jolliet whom Galinée met had died, it follows that he was not Louis.

This deduction was later confirmed by a document dated September 20, 1670, in which Jeanne Dodier, Adrien's wife, is designated as "veufue Adrian Jolliet." Since I wrote the above article I found in the Judicial Archives of Three Rivers another document proving that the death of Adrien Jolliet had occurred much earlier in the year: "Par devant Jean Cusson notaire Royal en la Jur[idiction] Seig[neu]r[ie] et preuosté du cap de la magdelaine . . . furent p[re]se[n]ts en leurs personnes dame Jeanne dodier *Veu-fue de defunt le S^r Adrien Jolliet et René benard S^r Bourjoly abitans dud^t cap . . .*"; then follow the conditions of the con-

²⁴ *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 237.

²⁵ "Louis Jolliet. Early Years," loc. cit., 9-11.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 13-20.

tract between Jeanne Dodier and Bourjoly. The act was "faict et passé en nostre estude aud^t cap apres midy ce Jour d'huy *vingt deuxiesme mars mil six cens septante.*" The verso of the second leaf of the document is endorsed as follows: "bail d'un Vache a ferme par la Veuf[u]e de defunt le S^r Jolliet a René Besnard S^r de bourjoly 22 mars 1670."²⁷

Hence in March 1670, Jeanne Dodier, the wife of Adrien Jolliet, was already a widow. How much time had elapsed since the death of her husband has not been ascertained, but Adrien Jolliet's name does not appear in the burial registers of Three Rivers. Hence the presumption is that he may have died en route from the West.

In the same article I also showed that the earliest positive evidence of Louis Jolliet's presence in the West is dated June 1671, and that he must have left Quebec or Montreal in 1670. I also printed a document in which it is said that in 1672, Louis Jolliet had "obtained his trade permit *the second time* he went to the Ottawa country" solely in order to bring back pelts which belonged to his trade associates and which had been left in the West in 1671.

Commenting on this article, M. Georges-Henri Dagneau wrote in the Quebec *Action Catholique* for August 17, 1945, that there were "imposing contemporary testimonies" against my conclusion that Jolliet made his first western voyage in 1670.

The first of these contemporary testimonies is the passage of the Récit quoted above: "He has experience, and knows the languages spoken in the Ottawa country where he spent several years." The second contemporary testimony is taken from Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, also quoted above: "They [Frontenac and Talon] could not choose anyone better fit than Sieur Jolliet who has much frequented that country." M. Dagneau, however, took this latter passage from the *Relations inédites*, the reading of which is altogether different from that of the manuscript: "qui avait fait plusieurs voyages dans ces contrées-la (who had made several voyages to those parts)." The third testimony is also taken from Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, but in this instance the text of the *Relations inédites*, except for being modernized, is the same as that of the manuscript: "On arriving in the Ottawa country he joined Father Marquette, who was awaiting him for that voyage, for they had often planned it together."

"How," asks M. Dagneau, "could Jolliet and Marquette have

²⁷ Judicial Archives of Three Rivers, Greffe Jean Cusson.

often planned the voyage together if Jolliet only spent one winter in the West before his great undertaking of 1672? How could he have acquired in one winter his knowledge of the languages spoken in those parts, a knowledge which all agree in admitting that Jolliet possessed?"

Before examining the above three texts, we shall consider the generalization concerning Jolliet's knowledge of Indian languages spoken in the Ottawa country, a knowledge "que tous s'accordent à reconnaître unanimement à Louis Jolliet." Where, we may ask, are the texts proving that "*tous*" testify to this mastery of Indian languages by Jolliet in 1672? Except for the unsupported assertion of Dablon in the *Récit*, I doubt very much if a single text can be produced to justify this universal statement. We have evidence that on one occasion Jolliet acted as a Montagnais interpreter, but this was in 1697, after he had spent twenty years trading with Montagnais-speaking Indians on the Lower St. Lawrence.²⁸

Dablon's assertion in the *Récit* on this point has little weight. We have just seen how, in the preceding paragraph, he attributed to Frontenac and Talon ideas that could not possibly have entered their mind in 1672. The several years which Jolliet is said to have spent in the Ottawa country may be understood in the sense that by 1678, when the *Récit* was written, Jolliet had spent several years there, namely, 1670–1671, and 1672–1674.

As can be seen, the reading of the second text is quite different in the manuscript from the text published in the *Relations inédites*. Even if the Jolliet whom Galinée met in 1669 had been Louis, it would mean that Louis had made only two voyages instead of one to the Ottawa country "before the great undertaking of 1672." This same Jolliet left Montreal shortly before July 6, 1669, and therefore arrived at Sault Ste Marie toward the middle of August, precisely at the time when Marquette left the Sault for La Pointe.²⁹ It is then barely possible that the two may have met. We know that Marquette remained at La Pointe until the spring of 1671, and that he arrived at Sault Ste Marie after June 4³⁰ but before July

²⁸ *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France, 1663–1710* (6 vols., Quebec, 1885–1891), 3: 823.

²⁹ JR, 54: 168.

³⁰ He was not at Sault Ste Marie when St. Lusson took formal possession of the West on June 4, 1671. The arguments of Father Hamy (*Au Mississipi*, 274–276) tending to establish Marquette's presence at the Sault on that day are unacceptable; he also erroneously states that Marquette's letter of post March 25, 1673 (*infra*, note 36) was written in 1672.

2,³¹ and also that Louis Jolliet was in the West at this time. The missionary may have spoken of the voyage to the Illinois villages on the Mississippi which he had projected in the autumn of 1670, but had not made owing to the hostility of the Sioux.³² Such a conversation, if it took place and if Louis Jolliet had mentioned it to Dablon, would be all that the latter needed to write as he did: "L'ayant bien des fois concertée ensemble."

This explanation of these words of Dablon is very hypothetical, involving as it does a large number of "ifs." Even so, it has the merit of being based on the one fact which we know for certain; namely, that Louis Jolliet made a voyage to the West in 1670. The suggestion that he made a previous voyage thither needs to be supported by some positive evidence if it is to be taken seriously. The impossibility of proving positively that he did not make such a voyage is by itself no indication that he did make it.

SECTION 1.

The Récit which begins with this section, is written in the first person singular. This is the reason why so many have believed that Marquette was its author; but one of Father Steck's arguments against Marquette's authorship is the use of the first person, because in some instances this would indicate boasting on the part of the missionary.³³ Such an argument is invalid. In the journal of the second voyage, which was undoubtedly written by Marquette, the first person singular in the nominative, possessive and objective case is used twice as many times as the more modest first person plural when Marquette speaks of himself. What should be said is that the use of the first person singular is a literary artifice employed by Dablon, the real author of the Récit.

As the aim of the historian was to please or to instruct, or to please and instruct at the same time, history was a *genre littéraire*: there were not too many scruples on the score of proofs; those who worked from written documents took no care to distinguish the text of such documents from their own text; in reproducing the narratives of their predecessors they adorned them with details, and sometimes (under the pretext of being precise) with numbers, with speeches, with reflections and elegances. We can in a manner see them at work in every instance where it is possible to compare Greek and Roman historians, Ephorus and Livy, for example, with their sources.

³¹ Marquette took his last vows at Sault Ste Marie on July 2, 1671. A facsimile of the document is reproduced in G. J. Garraghan, "Some Hitherto Unpublished Marquettiana," MID-AMERICA, 18 (1936): 23.

³² JR, 54: 184, and 55: 170.

³³ *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 293.

The writers of the Renaissance directly imitated the ancients. For them, too, history was a literary art with apologetic aims or didactic pretensions . . . Even in the seventeenth century we find, in Mézeray, a historian of the ancient classical pattern.³⁴

Dablon's concept of history did not differ from that of his contemporaries; the literary devices mentioned in the above quotation are exemplified throughout the *Récit*. No one today holds that the speeches in Livy or in Tacitus were pronounced as they are reported in the works of these two historians, and in many cases it is doubtful whether any speech at all was made. Once this is understood, the question of the authorship of the *Récit* no longer "involves . . . the honesty of Père Dablon."³⁵ After all, Marquette had gone down the Mississippi. He had seen and heard and experienced all that Dablon narrates about the voyage, and the latter, using the written or oral documentation at his disposal, composed the *Récit* according to the canons of history-writing prevalent in his day.

We shall now ascertain Dablon's sources for the various specific facts mentioned in the first three paragraphs of this first section of the *Récit*, namely, the date of Jolliet's arrival at Michilimackinac; the number of men who took part in the expedition; the date when they left St. Ignace; and that fact that a map based on native information was drawn before they began their journey.

Dablon may have inferred the date of Jolliet's arrival at Michilimackinac, December 8, 1672, or Jolliet himself may have supplied this information. Jolliet left Quebec after October 3, 1672, and did not reach Sault Ste Marie before the middle of November. From Sault Ste Marie he may have gone to Michilimackinac, or he may have gone first to Michilimackinac and then to Sault Ste Marie, for he was bringing Dablon's order to Marquette that the latter should accompany him. This we know from Marquette's letter written after March 25, 1673:³⁶ "Meanwhile I am preparing to leave

³⁴ Charles-V. Langlois and Ch. Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques* (Paris, 1899), 258. The translation is from *Introduction to the Study of History*, G. G. Berry, transl. (New York, 1925), 298.

³⁵ Replier, *Père Marquette*, 264.

³⁶ The date of this letter is established as follows. Marquette returned from La Pointe in the spring of 1671 and was at Sault Ste Marie after June 4 but before July 2, 1671. He did not send Dablon any detailed account of the state of the mission in 1672 (JR, 56: 116). In this letter, he speaks of the Hurons having begun "des l'été passé vn fort proche La Chapelle" (JR, 57: 248), and mentions a journey made to Sault Ste Marie with Father Allouez "l'été passé" (*ibid.*, 250). If the letter had been written in 1672 he would have said "cet été." He says that the Indians left the mission for the hunt "des l'automne" (*ibid.*, 254), and refers several times to the severe winter. Finally, he writes that he baptized an Indian woman "Le iour de L'annonciation" (*ibid.*, 260). Hence the letter is posterior to March 25, 1673.

it [the mission at St. Ignace] in the hands of another missionary, to go according to the order of your Reverence and seek toward the Sea of the South new nations that are unknown to us, to teach them to know our great God, of whom they have hitherto been ignorant."³⁷

According to the *Récit*, Jolliet arrived at Michilimackinac on December 8, 1672, "with orders from M. the Count de Frontenac, our governor, and M. Talon, our intendant, to make this discovery with me." We do not know whether Jolliet had orders from Frontenac and Talon to take Marquette with him, but, as we have seen, he either had their approval or at any rate they were not opposed to having a Jesuit accompanying him.

The source of the last lines of this paragraph, in which Marquette is made to say that at La Pointe Illinois Indians had asked him to go to their villages, is Marquette's letter of April 1670.³⁸

In his interview with Jolliet in 1674, Dablon learned how many men took part in the expedition. The date when they left St. Ignace, May 17, 1673, may be an inference. Dablon knew from having made the journey himself in 1670 that it took about a week to go by canoe from Michilimackinac to the St. Francis Xavier mission near present-day Green Bay. He had written in his letter of August 1, 1674, that "they [Jolliet and Marquette] set out with five other Frenchmen toward the beginning of June [1673] to penetrate into countries where no European had ever set foot." Jolliet must have told Dablon that they entered unknown territory beyond the Mascoutens village "toward the beginning of June." Hence Dablon can easily have inferred that they left St. Ignace on May 17.

Father Steck gives May 15 as the correct date. He says that Thévenot has May 13 [*le treize May*], and he supposes that the manuscript used by Thévenot had a 5 which was misread for a 3. He also calls attention to the fact that in the Montreal manuscript "a 7 is written over what is generally assumed to have been originally a 3." On close examination, he adds, "we find that the original figure was certainly not a 3; it seems rather to have been a 5, . . . On what authority the correction was made we have not been able to learn; perhaps on the authority of other manuscript copies which are said to be extant in Europe. In 1673, May 13 was a Saturday. One prefers to think that they waited until Monday, the 15th, spending Sunday at Mission St. Ignace."³⁹

³⁷ JR, 57: 263.

³⁸ JR, 54: 168-194. See especially pp. 186, 188, 190.

³⁹ *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 151, note 29.

The correction 17 was made by Dablon when he proofread the Montreal copy in 1679; that this correction represents the original is clear from the fact that both Marquette-4a and Marquette-5 have May 17; the figure over which Dablon wrote the "7" cannot be identified with certainty as either a 3 or a 5.

There is another fact in this paragraph for which we have no written evidence; namely, that before setting out the explorers obtained all the information they could from Indians who have frequented the unknown region toward which they were bound, and embodied this information in a map.

Dablon either learned this detail from Jolliet or else took for granted that the explorers followed the common practice in this respect.⁴⁰ A tolerably accurate sketch of the course of the Mississippi can be drawn from the description of the river by the Indians which Dablon himself inserted in the Relation of 1670-1671.⁴¹ After the writing of this Relation, the Indians had supplied further information about the great river, as is evident from Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674. Beyond the Mascoutens village, he wrote, the explorers looked for a portage of half a league where they would pass from this river [the Fox] into another [the Wisconsin] which came from the northwest and which led to the Mississippi.

The fourth and last paragraph of the first section is transcribed below and the main variants of Marquette-4a and Marquette-5 are noted:

Sur tout je mis nostre voyage (équipage, in M-4a) soubs la protection *de la S^{te}. Vierge* (the words italicized are omitted in M-4a) Immaculée, luy promettant, que si elle nous faisoit la grace de découurir la grande Riuiere, Je luy donnerois Le Nom de la Conception et que je ferois aussi porter ce (le, in M-4a) nom a la premiere Mission que j'établirois (j'y établirois, in M-4a) chez Ces (Ses, in M-4a) Nouueaux peuples, *Ce que jay fait de vray chez les Illinois* (the words italicized are omitted in M-4a and in M-5).

The first omission is clearly a distraction of the Marquette-4a copyist; and the fact that these words are in Marquette-5 is another indication that this copy was not made on the first fragment of Canada-4.

⁴⁰ Cf. JR, 44: 236; La Salle's letter of post September 29, 1680, in Margry, 2: 52 f; Journal of the Badine, Margry, 4: 178; Journal of the Marin, *ibid.*, 269.

⁴¹ JR, 55: 206-208.

Whether Marquette promised to call the Mississippi "R. de la Conception" or whether this is an inference is not ascertainable, for Dablon knew of Marquette's great devotion to the Blessed Virgin under this attribute. However that may be, it is certain that Marquette legended the Mississippi "R. de la Conception" on his map.⁴²

The omission of the last nine words in Marquette-4a and in Marquette-5 means that they were not in the copy or copies sent to France in 1678. Moreover, since these words are in the handwriting of the copyist of the Montreal manuscript, it follows that Dablon inserted them in a copy kept in Quebec, and that the Montreal manuscript is a later transcription of that copy.

From what Marquette wrote in the introduction to his journal of his second voyage, namely, that he was awaiting orders "for my voyage to the mission of the Conception of the Illinois," it is clear that he had so named the mission in 1673, for his journal ends a few weeks before his return to the Illinois village. This had escaped Dablon's attention when he wrote the first draft of the *Récit*, for it is not in the copy or copies sent to France, and since the sentence in the Montreal manuscript is in the handwriting of the copyist, we conclude, as above, that Dablon inserted it in a copy kept in Quebec and that the Montreal manuscript is a later transcription of this copy.

Finally, this addition in the Montreal manuscript establishes two important points. The first regards the authorship of the *Récit*. If Marquette were actually the author, this detail would be found in the other earlier copies, namely, in Marquette-4a and in the manuscript used by the copyist of Marquette-5. The second point is a confirmation of what we have already said with regard to the literary device of using the first person singular, to add greater vividness by making Marquette tell the story himself.

SECTION 2.

Except for the manner of harvesting wild rice, and the reference to a medicinal herb and a mineral spring, there are few details in this section which cannot be traced to extant written sources.

The harvesting of wild rice is a digression containing details which Dablon witnessed or which he learned from other Jesuits. It should be noted that Dablon in 1670 passed by the Menominee

⁴² I have dealt elsewhere ("Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *MID-AMERICA*, 27 [1945]: 37, note 37) with Father Steck's remarks with regard to the authenticity of this legend.

River in September⁴³ at the time of the harvest,⁴⁴ whereas Marquette passed by it in May.

It is doubtful whether the explorers went out of their way to enter the Menominee River; they may have met a band of Menominee Indians on the west shore of Green Bay. The fact that the name "folle auoine" is on Marquette's map does not mean that they visited the village of these Indians, for the 8tagami (Fox) village is also inscribed on the map, and the explorers certainly did not visit it. If they actually met some Menominee, the reported speech of the latter, in which they enumerated the dangers awaiting Marquette from men, monsters and devils, is a stock speech made by Indians to explorers and missionaries, partly because the Indians themselves believed in the existence of such obstacles, and partly because they did not wish white men to bring European goods to other tribes.⁴⁵

What we said above with regard to the addition to the Montreal manuscript equally applies to the addition at the end of the fifth paragraph of this section: "en ayant baptisé plus de deux mille [Indians] depuis qu'ils [Jesuits] y [at Green Bay] sont." Moreover, this second addition shows that the Montreal manuscript was recopied in 1679. In the Relation of this year, Dablon speaks of the great number of baptisms conferred by the Jesuits at St. Francis Xavier and in the dependent missions;⁴⁶ and he repeats this detail in his letter to the general of the order.⁴⁷ Taken in conjunction with the paragraph added by Dablon at the end of the third chapter

⁴³ JR, 55: 184.

⁴⁴ A. E. Jenks, "The Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," in the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology . . . 1897-1898 (Washington, D. C., 1900), 1056.

⁴⁵ See La Salle's letter of *post* September 29, 1680, in Margry, 2: 42 f; and the letter of July 2, 1661, in JR, 46: 260. The latter supposedly a joint letter of Druillettes and Dablon, was actually written by the latter. Compare the answer of Marquette to the speech of the Indians with that made by the two missionaries, *ibid.*, 262.

⁴⁶ JR, 61: 148-156.

⁴⁷ Dablon to Oliva, September 1, 1679, Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110, I, 67v.—In the Catalogus Barbarorum Canadensis à Patribus Societatis JESV Baptisatorum hoc anno 1679 (*ibid.*, 69v), Dablon lists the number of baptisms conferred by the missionaries in the Northwest: In Missionibus Decem apud Outaouacos, quibus praest P. henricus Nouuel, aquis baptismatis Tinixerunt hoc anno 1679 aut superiore

Ex prouincia Tolosanâ	P. henricus Nouuel	37	adultos, et 108 Infantes
ex gallo-belgicâ	P. Joannes Enjalran		
ex aquitaniâ	P. Philippus Pierson	5	adultos—25 Infantes
ex Tolosanâ	P. Petrus Bailloquet	9	adultos—40 Infantes
ex aquitaniâ	P. Gabriel druillettes	4	adultos—71 Infantes
ex Tolosanâ	P. Andreas Bonnault	13	adultos—88 Infantes
ex Lugdunensi	P. Carolus Albanel	40	sive adultos sive Infantes
	P. Ludovicus André	220	sive adultos sive Infantes
	P. Antonius Silvy		

in which he notes the departure of Father Allouez for the Illinois country, these facts show that the Montreal manuscript is a copy made in 1679 of an earlier copy, duplicates of which were sent to France in 1678, and this later Montreal copy was further corrected by Dablon.

Most of the specific data in the remainder of this section are taken from previously published Relations. Dablon himself had given the explanation of the name of Green Bay—*baye des Puants*—in the Relation of 1670–1671;⁴⁸ he knew the length and the width of Green Bay⁴⁹ through having visited it in 1670, and he also knew its shape, for he is very probably the author of the draft of the 1671 map of Lake Superior.⁵⁰

The question of tides in Green Bay had been discussed in the Relations of 1671–1672 and 1672–1673.⁵¹ The alternative cause—the attraction of the moon or the winds—of what was thought were tides, mentioned in the earlier of these two Relations,⁵² is repeated in the Récit; and in the Relation of 1670–1671, Dablon himself had speculated as to the cause of these "tides."⁵³ Several expressions in these three sources are found verbatim in the Récit.

The brief description of the lower Fox River is a summary of Dablon's own description in the Relation of 1670–1671;⁵⁴ here again, Dablon reproduced in the Récit some expressions of his earlier Relation.

Two specific data cannot be traced to extant written sources: the mineral spring and the curative virtue of a medicinal herb which an Indian made known to Father Allouez. Dablon makes no mention of the spring in his description of the Fox River Valley, nor is there among the extant writings of Father Allouez any reference to this spring or to the medicinal herb. I believe, however, that these details were in the report sent by Allouez in 1672, for it is clear that Dablon, in editing the Relation of 1671–1672, considerably abridged this report. He wrote: "We should need almost as much time to follow Father Claude Allouez in an account of his apostolic journeys as he took in making them . . ." How the dispensations of Divine Providence were manifested will "be easily

⁴⁸ JR, 55: 182; and cf. JR, 45: 218.

⁴⁹ Father Louis André wrote to Dablon in 1673: "V. R. scait mieux que moy La Longueur et La Largeur de la baye ainsy ie ne Luy en parle pas."—JR, 57: 304.

⁵⁰ "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 32 f.

⁵¹ JR, 57: 300–304.

⁵² JR, 56: 136–140.

⁵³ JR, 55: 160–164.

⁵⁴ JR, 55: 190–194.

realized from the short account which we [*i. e.*, Dablon] will give of the almost incredible pains which he took to instruct tribes speaking five different languages . . ."⁵⁵ The reason why Dablon devotes only five pages in the original Relation to Allouez's apostolic labors is probably because he wished to publish in that year the journal of Father Albanel's voyage to Hudson Bay, which covers fifty-four pages in the original Relation.

The last specific fact in this section of the *Récit* is the date of the expedition's arrival at the Mascoutens village. That this date is an inference will be seen from the following consideration. In 1674, Dablon had been told by Jolliet that they left for the unknown territory "toward the beginning of June." The earlier text of the *Récit* as we have it in Marquette-4a and in Marquette-5 reads thus: "ou [at the Mascoutens village] nous arriuasmes vers le 7 (7^e de, in Marquette-4a) Juin"; whereas the Montreal manuscript, which is a later copy corrected by Dablon, has "ou nous arrivâmes le 7^e De Juin." Hence, if in 1678 he only knew approximately (*vers*, about June 7) the date of the arrival of the expedition at this village, it is unlikely that he knew it positively in the following year.

Even if this variant is merely an oversight on Dablon's part when proofreading the later copy, the fact remains that if he had had Marquette's journal he would not have written in 1678, that the date of arrival at the Mascoutens village was *about* the 7th of June; for in Marquette's second journal all the dates of the various entries are given exactly.

It was not difficult for Dablon to infer this date, for he himself had made the journey in 1670. In ordinary circumstances it took about eight or ten days to go by canoe from Michilimackinac to Green Bay; and it had taken Dablon nine days to go from Green Bay to the Mascoutens village. Hence the whole journey took nearly three weeks. Having written in the previous section that the explorers set out from Michilimackinac on May 17, he inferred that they reached the Mascoutens village "about June 7."

SECTION 3.

In the Relation of 1670-1671, Dablon had called attention to the fact that by changing a few letters, the word "Mascoutens" may signify "Nation of Fire"; and he repeated this statement in the

⁵⁵ JR, 56: 140.

opening lines of this section.⁵⁶ The enumeration in the *Récit* of the tribes composing the Mascoutens village is the same as in the Relation of 1672-1673.⁵⁷ The description of the character of the Miami Indians is a paraphrase of Allouez's journal printed in the Relation of 1669-1670.⁵⁸ The reference to the eagerness of the Miami to listen to Father Allouez is taken from the Relation of 1672-1673, and what is said about the peculiar kind of huts made of rush matting seen in the Mascoutens village is taken from the same Relation. It should be remembered, also, that Dablon himself had spent several weeks in this village in 1670, and had observed that these people "have no other houses, for the most part than such as are made of rushes woven together in the form of mats",⁵⁹ finally, in this same year, together with Allouez, he had visited the enclosure in which the Miami dwelt.⁶⁰

In August 1672, after having erected a huge cross in the Mascoutens village, Allouez returned to the St. Francis Xavier mission. He was again in that village on May 5, 1673, and camped near the cross. He left on May 22, that is, a few weeks before the arrival of Jolliet and Marquette. In the journal of his travels, Allouez mentions the offerings made by the Indians to this cross. As the following parallel passages show, Dablon combined two entries of Allouez's journal when writing the paragraph of the *Récit* in which this cross is mentioned:

Journal of Allouez

Le soir ie vis des tresses de bled d'inde, des ceintures et des iartieres rouges qu'ils auoient pendues a La croix . . . Les mêmes miami ont quitté Les manitous qu'ils inuoquoient pour Leur guerre Chasse &c. ils n'inuoquent que celuy, qui a fait Le Ciel et La terre, en effect ces iours passez allants en guerre ils ont pendu a La croix

Récit

Je fus extremément Consolé de veoir une belle Croix au milieu du bourg et ornée de plusieurs peaux blanches, de Ceintures rouges, d'arcs et de flêches, que ces bonnes gens auoient offertz au grand Manitou, (C'est le nom qu'ils donnent a Dieu) pour le remercier de ce qu'il auoit eu pitié D'Eux pendant L'hyuer, Leur donnant une

⁵⁶ JR, 56: 198. See F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (2 vols., 4th impression, Washington, D. C., 1912), s. v. *Mascoutens*.

⁵⁷ JR, 58: 22.

⁵⁸ JR, 58: 22, and 60-62.

⁵⁹ JR, 55: 194.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 200-206.

qui est a Leur bourg vne peau blanche pour inuoquer ainsy quils mont dit, Le Dieu des armées qui a fait Les hommes et Le Ciel et La terre.⁶¹

The next paragraph, which contains the description of the Mascoutens village, is a variation of what Dablon himself had written in 1670:

Relation of 1670-1671

[The Mascoutens village] est placée sur un petit costeau d'où l'on ne découvre de tous costez que de vastes prairies avec quelques bocages, épars en diver endroits.⁶³

chasse abondante, Lorsqu'ils apprehendoient Le plus La famine.⁶²

Récit

Car d'une Eminence sur la quelle elle [the Mascoutens village] est placée on découvre de toutes parts les prairies a perte de veüe, partagees par des bocages ou par des bois de haute futaÿe.⁶⁴

The speech of Joliet, which Dablon recorded in indirect discourse, is the latter's own composition, based on a few words from the explorer. "On the following day, the tenth of June, two Miami, who were given us as guides embarked with us, in the sight of a great crowd . . ." We saw above that the expedition is said to have arrived at the Mascoutens village on June 7. From the wording of the preceding paragraph, "No sooner had we arrived than we assembled the elders together," it is clear that the following day was not June 10, but June 8; it is also clear that Dablon did not get these dates from Marquette's journal or from Joliet, but that they are inferences. These figures are no copyists' errors, for the date is spelled out—le dixiesme de Juin—in Marquette—4a and in the Montreal manuscript. As for the two guides, Dablon must have been

⁶¹ JR, 58: 26 and 62.

⁶² JR, 59: 102. Except for differences in spelling the text is the same in the three manuscripts.—The reason given in the Récit for these offerings is a paraphrase of what Allouez had written, JR, 58: 62.

⁶³ JR, 55: 198.

⁶⁴ JR, 59: 102. Some of the products of the country mentioned in the remainder of this paragraph of the Récit are also listed in Dablon's description of the Fox River Valley.—JR, 55: 194.

"This description [of the country around the Mascoutens village] tallies perfectly with that given by Allouez on the occasion of his visit in 1670 (September 15)."—A. E. Jones, "The Site of Mascoutin," in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1906* (Madison, Wis., 1907), 179. Of course it tallies, for the same man wrote both. The description is not by Allouez, but by Dablon. Father Jones never doubted that the Récit was Marquette's "journal."

told by Jolliet or by Largilier that they were Miami, or else he inferred that they belonged to that tribe from what he knew about these Indians from Allouez's report of 1673.⁶⁵

"We knew that three leagues from Mascoutens there was a river which emptied into the Mississippi." As we noted previously, this knowledge was obtained from the Indians. The distance from the Mascoutens village to Portage, Wisconsin—three leagues—found in every manuscript, is clearly an error of the copyists, which Dablon failed to correct when he proofread the Montreal manuscript in 1679. That the original figures set down by Dablon was thirty is easily ascertainable.⁶⁶

In the narrative of his own journey to the Mascoutens village, Dablon says that after one day's journey up the Fox River, there are three or four leagues of rapids, beyond which one must travel "more than twenty leagues" before reaching Mascoutens.⁶⁷ Hence according to his reckoning the distance from Green Bay to Mascoutens was about thirty leagues. In July 1674, Jolliet had told Dablon that the distance between Green Bay and Portage was nearly sixty leagues, and Dablon figured that the Mascoutens village was about half way up the Fox River,⁶⁸ seeing that on Marquette's map the distance between the village and the portage was between twenty-five and thirty leagues.

In July 1674, Dablon had learned from Jolliet the two other specific facts contained in this same paragraph of the *Récit*:—the direction of the Fox River and the length of the portage. Jolliet

⁶⁵ JR, 58: 60–62.

⁶⁶ The reasoning of Father Jones ("The Site of Mascoutin," *loc. cit.*, 180 f), ingenious though it be, is unacceptable. The expression "de Mascoutens" does not mean "from the river of the Maskoutens"; and the remark that "Marquette [i. e., Dablon] does not use the article before the name of rivers" proves nothing. The meaning of the clause "a trois lieuës de Maskoutens" is "three [i. e., thirty] leagues from the *village* of the Mascoutens." This is clear from other passages of the *Récit* where the village is mentioned. While ascending the Fox River, "Nous aduancions toujours vers Maskoutens ou nous arrivâmes le 7^e De Juin"; again, the opening words of the third section read: "Nous voicy rendus a Maskoutens." The meaning of "Maskoutens" in these two texts is not different from its meaning in the passage: "Nous scauvions qua trois lieuës de Maskoutens est la Riuiere qui se décharge dans Mississippi." Yet, Father Jones interprets the word as "the *river* of the Mascoutens."

John J. Wood ("The Mascoutin Village," *loc. cit.*, 173, note 14) had correctly surmised that the text should read "thirty instead of three leagues."

⁶⁷ JR, 55: 190 and 198.

⁶⁸ R. G. Thwaites, *Historic Waterways* (Chicago, 1888), 26 f, gives 94 miles as the distance from Green Bay to Berlin (in the vicinity of which the Mascoutens village was located), and 81 miles as the distance from Berlin to Portage.

had then told him that in ascending the river he went "toward the west-southwest" and that they were looking for a portage of half a league. In the *Récit* this portage is said to be 2,700 paces long. These paces were ordinary paces, two of which made one geometrical pace or five feet; hence the 2,700 paces equal 6,750 feet or 1,125 toises of six feet, or half a *lieue moyenne* (the land league) of 2,282 toises.⁶⁹

The next paragraph is transitional. Dablon may have learned from Largilier and Jolliet that they began, as he says, a new devotion to the Blessed Virgin, for we know from Jolliet's letter to Laval that he, like Marquette, had a singular devotion to the Mother of God. On the other hand, this new devotion may be a surmise of Dablon, based on the statement in Marquette's journal of the second voyage, namely, that Marquette began at Chicago a special novena in honor of the Blessed Virgin to obtain from God the cure of his illness.

Dablon saw the name of the Wisconsin [Meskousing] on Jolliet's map; he computed on this map the distance—thirty leagues—between the portage and the iron mine, which is also shown on Jolliet's map along with the "chain of rocks" said by Dablon to be quite near this mine. The direction of the Wisconsin River, toward the southwest, the distance traveled on it, forty leagues, and the latitude of the mouth of the Wisconsin, $42^{\circ}30'$,⁷⁰ are details that he had learned from Jolliet. In July 1674, he had been told by the latter that "sur laquelle [Wisconsin River] estants embarqués, et ayant fait quarante lieues vers le soroüest, Enfin le 15 Juin, se trouvant a 42 degres et demy, ils entrerent heureusement dans cette fameuse Riuiere que les sauvages appellent Missisipi."

The arrival at the mouth of the Wisconsin is expressed as follows in the *Récit*: "et nous trouuant a 42 degréz et demy D'esleuation, Nous entrons heureusement dans Missisipi le 17^e Juin avec une joie que ne ne peux pas Expliquer."⁷¹

⁶⁹ Since there were twenty-five land leagues to the degree of latitude, each league measured 2.76 statute miles, and 2,700 paces equal 1.35 miles. The distance between the marker erected near the bank of the Wisconsin River by the Wau-Bun Chapter of the D. A. R. and the nearest point on the Fox River is 1.6 miles.

⁷⁰ This is also the latitude on Marquette's map. For the other latitudes of the mouth of the Wisconsin on maps based on that of Jolliet, see "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi River," *MID-AMERICA*, 28 (1946): 96.

⁷¹ "Auec un joie que je ne puis exprimer," is the reading in Marquette-5 and in Thévenot. On this reading, which is Dablon's own text, see H. Harrisson, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la Cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents 1545-1700* (Paris, 1872), 141, note 2.

Love of symmetry is one of the standard results of a classical education. In Dablon's case this symmetry is exemplified by the sameness of the important dates which he gives for the expedition of 1673:—May 17, when the expedition left St. Ignace; June 17, when it reached the Mississippi; July 17, when the explorers began their northward journey. Moreover, he had to make sure that enough time was allowed for traveling from the Mascoutens village to Prairie du Chien. In 1674, he had been told by Jolliet that the distance between these two places was 70 leagues (actually 200 miles) through unknown territory, and that nearly half this distance (30 leagues) was upstream. Consequently he changed the date of their reaching the mouth of the Wisconsin from June 15, which he had written in his letter of August 1, 1674, into June 17, thus allowing one week between their departure from the Mascoutens village on June 10, and their arrival at Prairie du Chien.

At the beginning of this third section, Dablon had written: "Here [the Mascoutens village] is the limit of the discoveries made by the French; for they have not gone any farther." Until the expedition of 1673 reached this point, he could supplement his narrative with descriptions and details from earlier Jesuit Relations as well as with what he knew of the country from personal knowledge. Beyond the Mascoutens village, however, he had to rely first, on the meager information in his own letter of August 1, 1674, which contains the details learned from his interview with Jolliet; second, on Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac; and finally, on supplementary odds and ends learned from Jolliet and Largilier. For the geography of the territory beyond the Mascoutens village, all that he had was the map of Marquette and the map which Jolliet drew from memory between August and November 1674. This oral and written evidence is the basis for the rest of the *Récit*, except for irrelevant digressions, the sources of which will be ascertained in due course.

Although it is true that for 250 years Marquette has been regarded as the author of the *Récit*, this does not prove that he is really its author. The acceptance of his authorship by historians does not affect the fact itself. Otherwise an erroneous ascription would become true merely because historians for centuries have believed it to be true. Furthermore, this unanimous consent with regard to Marquette's authorship of the *Récit* is much less impressive than is generally thought; for among the numerous writers who have made use of the document not one has taken the trouble to investigate its authenticity. Previous to the publication of Father

Steck's dissertation, everyone took for granted that Marquette wrote it. Some went so far as to call it the "journal" of the expedition, and others, going farther still, called the Montreal manuscript Marquette's *autograph*.

The style of the narrative as an argument against Marquette's authorship had not been sufficiently emphasized. Dablon's style is very distinctive; his use of words, his expressions, and even his sentence structures are so individualistic that one can recognize his contributions in the earlier Relations, even though these contributions have been "edited" or "revised" by the editor of the Relations in Quebec or in Paris. Because of its importance, we must repeat once more what we have said several times in the course of this article:—the Récit is an integral part of the 1677–1678 Relation. No one has ever doubted that those parts of this Relation which are not transcriptions of letters from missionaries in the field were written by Dablon. In particular, no one denies that Dablon wrote the chapter describing Marquette's second voyage to the Illinois country and his death on the return journey. The same characteristics of style are so obviously present in the Récit of the voyage of 1673 and in the Relation's narrative of the second voyage to the Illinois country that, if some student ignorant of the question of authorship were given both documents, he would, we confidently believe, recognize that they were written by the same man.

SECTION 4.

In the following two paragraphs the sources of the statements concerning the Mississippi River in the Récit are indicated after each statement.

"La Riuiere de Missisipi tire son origine de diuers lacs." On the anonymous copy of Jolliet's map, three lakes are shown as the headwaters of the river.—". . . qui [lakes] sont dans le paÿs des peuples du Nord." As early as 1670, relying on information received from the Indians, Dablon had written that the Mississippi took "son origine dans les Quartiers du Nord";⁷² and after his interview with Jolliet in 1674, he wrote that the Mississippi "vient de fort loing du costé du Nord, au rapport des Sauuages." On Jolliet's map, north of Lake Superior, there is a legend which reads: "Nations du Nord."—"Elle est estroite a sa [i. e., la] décharge de Miskous." The last word is clearly a mistaken reading of "Mis-kousing" on Jolliet's map. Since the name is correctly written in

⁷² JR, 55: 206.

the preceding section of the *Récit*, the reason for the misreading seems to be that Miscou, on Chaleur Bay, had long been known in Canada, and when Dablon proofread the copy he did not make the correction, because he too was more familiar with Miscou than with Miskousing.⁷³

"Son courant qui port[e] du Costé du Sud est lent et paisible." Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, has: "Elle coule fort doucement . . ."—"A la droite on voist une grande Chaisne de Montagnes fort hautes et a la gauche de belles terres." To the right of the river, that is, looking at Jolliet's map.—"Elle est coupée d'Isles en diuers Endroictz." Dablon had written in 1674, that the river is much wider "aux endroits où elle est coupée d'Isles."—"En sondant nous auons trouués dix brasses d'Eaux." In the letter of August 1, 1674: "Elle a jusques a dix brasses d'eau."—"Nous suivons doucement son Cours qui va au Sud et au Sudest jusquaus 42 degrés d'Eleuation." On Marquette's map, the Mississippi flows southeastward to latitude 41°; the manuscripts sent to France have 42°; the later Montreal copy had 14^e, which Dablon crossed out and wrote "42" above it.

Deer, cows, sturgeons and turkeys are mentioned in Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674. What were the "swans without wings" and who supplied Dablon with this information, we do not know. The monstrous fish has been identified as probably the cat fish; the monster with the tiger-cat, and the "extraordinary fish" with the *polyodon spatula*.⁷⁴ Since these animals are not mentioned in any of the written sources which have come down to us, we conclude that their description was given orally by Jolliet or by some other member of the expedition.

"When we reached latitude 41°28', following the same direction, we found that turkeys had taken the place of game, and the pisikious,⁷⁵ or wild oxen, that of the other animals." The next paragraph of the *Récit* contains a description of the buffalo which

⁷³ Cf. "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 99 and 130 f.

⁷⁴ See the notes of B. F. French in J. G. Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (Redfield, 1852), 17 f.—A drawing of the "extraordinary fish" based on the description in the *Récit* was inserted in a band outside the frame of a map made in Quebec at the end of the seventeenth century. The draughtsman legended it: "Chausarou ou Poisson armé." On this map cf. "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 86 f.

⁷⁵ "Pisikiou" is the French rendering of the Algonquian name of the buffalo: *Piciki*; Chippewa, *Pijiki*, ox, bull, cow, buffalo; plur. *Pijikiwag*.

is simply a variant of Dablon's earlier description published in the Relation of 1670-1671, as the following parallel texts will show.

Relation of 1670-1671

C'est aussy parmy ces gras paturasges, que se retrouve des buffles, qu'on appelle Pisikiou, qui ont beaucoup de rapport à nos taureaux, pour la grandeur, & la force, . . .

. . . leurs cornes, qui de vray sont toutes semblables, à celles de nos boeufs, en figure et en couleur, mais qui sont une fois plus grandes, . . .

. . . pour le poil, qu'ils ont gros, velu, noirastre & tirant un peu sur celuy des moutons, mais beaucoup plus fort, & plus espais; aussi en fait on des robes, & des fourrures, qui defendent contre le froid plus que toutes les autres de ce païs: La Chair en est excellente, & la graisse mêlée avec la folle avoine fait le mets le plus delicat de ce païs.⁷⁶

Récit

Nous les [Pisikiou] appelons boeufs sauvages parcequ'ils sont semblables a nos boeufs domestiques, ils ne sont pas plus longs mais ils ont pres d'une fois plus plus gros et plus Corpulents; . . .

. . . les Cornes qui sont entièrement semblables a Celles de nos boeufs, mais elles sont noires et beaucoup plus grande[s], . . .

. . . Le reste du Corps est reuetu d'un gros poil frisé a peu pres Comme Celuy de nos moutons, mais bien plus fort et plus Espais, il tombe en Esté et la peau deuient douce Comme du Velours. C'est pourlors que les sauvages les Employent pour s'en faire de belles Robbes qu'ils peignent de diuerses Couleurs; la chair et la graisse des pisikious est Excellente et fait le meilleur mets des festins.⁷⁷

"They [buffaloes] are scattered about the prairie in herds: I saw one herd of 400." After his interview with Jolliet in 1674, Dablon wrote: "Le Pere en a conté jusques 400 en une seule bande." In his letter to Laval, Jolliet said: "J'en ai ueu et compté jusques 400 ensemble dans une prairie," and in his dedicatory letter to Frontenac: "J'en ay mesme compté jusqua 400."⁷⁸

⁷⁶ JR, 55: 194-196.

⁷⁷ JR, 59: 110-112.

⁷⁸ These passages are commented upon in "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 225.

In the next paragraph of the *Récit* there are three kinds of data which must be considered separately:—the distances, the changes in direction of the Mississippi, and the latitudes.

Two distances are given. They had traveled more than one hundred leagues and more than sixty leagues on the Mississippi without discovering anything. This total distance includes the forty leagues on the Wisconsin River which Dablon had learned from Jolliet in 1674. The distance on the Mississippi he inferred as follows: he knew that they had entered the Mississippi at latitude $42^{\circ}30'$, and he saw on Marquette's map that the village of the Peoria where they met Indians for the first time was situated slightly above latitude 40° . Since Dablon counted twenty-five leagues to the degree of latitude, he concluded that they had traveled more than sixty leagues on the Mississippi.

The varying directions of the course of the Mississippi. For this section of the course of the Mississippi, Dablon either misread Marquette's map or failed to ascertain the exact rhumbs with a protractor. On Marquette's map, from the mouth of the Wisconsin to latitude 41° , the river flows S. E. by S., and from latitude 41° to the Peoria village, it flows south one and a half points to the west.

The two latitudes (41° , 40° and some minutes) are derived from Marquette's map. As we just noted, the first is where the Mississippi changes its direction, and the second is the location of the Peoria village on Marquette's map. In the preceding paragraph of the *Récit*, another latitude is mentioned, $41^{\circ}28'$. This same figure is found in Marquette-5 and in Thévenot. What led Dablon to mention this position is unascertainable, for on Marquette's map there is nothing distinctive between the mouth of the Wisconsin (latitude $42^{\circ}30'$) and latitude 41° .

"Finally, on June 25, we noticed on one of the banks of the river tracks of men and a narrow beaten path leading to a fine prairie . . . thinking that it led to some Indian village, we resolved to follow the path and find out." The date, June 25, is an inference. As we saw, Dablon wrote that they entered the Mississippi River on June 17, and computed the distance from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the Peoria village as 60 leagues. Having been told that they stopped every night, he figured that it took the explorers eight days to cover this distance.

This village was situated a few leagues inland on the Iowa River.⁷⁹ The details concerning the reception of Marquette and

⁷⁹ Cf. "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 102 f.

Jolliet must have been supplied by the latter; the presentation and the brief description of the calumet in the *Récit* are outlined in Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674.

SECTION 5.

The narrative of the reception tendered to the explorers is an exercise of style. To write it Dablon drew from his fund of general knowledge of Indian customs and supplemented it with bits of specific information obtained from Jolliet or from other members of the expedition. Marquette's speech is no more actual than the speeches in Livy, and contains a statement which Marquette could not possibly have made. "The third [present], I said, is to inform them [the Indians] that the great captain of the French has restored peace everywhere and that he had subdued the Iroquois." In the supposed answer of the chief, we learn who this subduer was: "By this gift [a calumet] he expressed to us his esteem for Monsieur our governor, from the account which we had given of him." Now by June 1673, Frontenac had not subdued anybody. He had arrived at Quebec at the beginning of September 1672, and even if he had subdued the Iroquois during the winter of 1672-1673, the explorers could not have known about it, for they had left St. Ignace in May 1673.

The other points of Marquette's speech are commonplaces found in discourses made by missionaries to the Indians. The greeting of the chief, "que le soleil est beau, françois, quand tu viens nous visiter," is developed in the answer which he supposedly made to Marquette's speech: "Jamais la terre n'a été si belle ni le soleil si éclatant qu'aujourd'hui . . ." This seems to have been a common figure of speech. In June 1672, on his way to Hudson Bay, Father Alبانel met an Indian chief who controlled the territory which he and his party had to cross. The missionary made the ordinary presents, and on the following day, at the end of a great feast, the chief spoke as follows: "C'est aujourd'hui, mon Pere, que le Soleil nous luit, & que nous favorisant de ta douce présence, tu nous fais le plus beau jour que ce païs ait jamais yeu."⁸⁰

Dablon had learned from Jolliet that the Peoria village comprised 300 lodges. This figure is also found in Jolliet's letter to Laval.⁸¹

⁸⁰ JR, 56: 176.

⁸¹ Cf. "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," loc. cit., 224.

SECTION 6.

This section, the longest of the *Récit*, is divided into three parts: the first deals with the Illinois Indians, their language, their character and some of their customs; the second part treats of the calumet; the third contains the description of the calumet dance.

To write the paragraphs on the Illinois Dablon made use of the following sources: Marquette's map, Marquette's letter of April 1670, Allouez's report of May 1677, and Dablon's own description of these Indians which had been published in the Relation of 1670-1671.

By 1678, the meaning of the word "Illinois" was common knowledge in Canada; and it should be remembered that, in 1670, at the Mascoutens village, Dablon had seen more Illinois⁸² than Marquette ever saw at La Pointe, which was visited by only a few bands of these Indians while Marquette was there.⁸³

According to the *Récit* the Illinois are divided into several villages. In 1671, Dablon had written that "beyond that great river [the Mississippi] lie the eight villages of the Illinois."⁸⁴ We are also told in the *Récit* that "a few of these villages are quite distant from the one of which we speak and which is called Peouarea." Dablon seems to have concluded that the villages inscribed on Marquette's and Jolliet's maps west of the Peoria were the other Illinois villages about which he had heard in 1670.

"Their language resembles Algonquian, so that we easily understood each other." Marquette certainly did not make this statement. In his letter of the spring of 1670 written at La Pointe, after mentioning that the Ottawa had appointed an Indian to teach him Illinois which, he said, "one can scarcely understand, although it resembles Algonquian."⁸⁵ The great difference between Algonquian and the Illinois dialect is also attested by Allouez: "The Ilimouec [Illinois] speak Algonquian, but their dialect is very different from that of all the other tribes. I understood them only slightly, for I have talked with them very little."⁸⁶ Both Marquette and Allouez, especially the latter, knew Algonquian well, and were well aware of the differences between the various Algonquian dialects; whereas, owing to circumstances, Dablon never learned either of the

82 JR, 55: 206-218.

83 JR, 54: 184-188.

84 JR, 55: 96.

85 JR, 54: 186.

86 JR, 51: 46.

two basic languages, Algonquian and Huron, which were spoken in the territory evangelized by the Jesuits of New France.⁸⁷

"Their disposition is gentle and tractable." The section in which Dablon speaks of the Illinois whom he saw at the Mascoutens village in 1670 is entitled: "Some particulars concerning the Nation of the Illinois, especially regarding the good disposition and politeness of these peoples."⁸⁸ Moreover, in the spring of 1670, Marquette had written that "ceux que j'ay vu paroissent estre d'assez bon naturel."⁸⁹ Dablon knew that they practiced polygamy, and that they were very jealous of their wives, from Allouez's report of 1677.⁹⁰ In his letter of August 1, 1674, Dablon had written: "Aussy leur coupe ton le nez quand elles font mal." In the Récit he says: "Et ils leurs coupent le nez ou les oreilles quand elles ne sont pas sages."

These texts sufficiently show the dependence of the Récit on these sources for all that pertains to the character and customs of the Illinois; anyone wishing to complete the proof may compare the remainder of this part of the Récit with Marquette's letter of the spring of 1670,⁹¹ with the corresponding part of Dablon's Relation of 1670-1671,⁹² and with what Allouez says in his report of 1677.⁹³ The only detail in the Récit for which there is no written reference prior to 1678 is the institution of the berdashes; but this custom was very probably known by that time, and is mentioned by all subsequent writers who explained the "mystery" connected with this custom.⁹⁴

The second part of this section treats of the calumet. The two paragraphs describing it are a paraphrase of what Dablon had

⁸⁷ "Claude Dablon, S.J. (1619-1697)," MID-AMERICA, 26 (1944): 100.

⁸⁸ JR, 55: 206; cf. p. 210.

⁸⁹ JR, 54: 186.

⁹⁰ Récit: "Ils ont plusieurs femmes dont ils sont extremement jalouz."—Allouez: "Ils ont plusieurs femmes, et ils en sont extremement jaloux."—JR, 60: 160.

⁹¹ JR, 54: 184-190.

⁹² JR, 55: 206-218.

⁹³ JR, 60: 158-166.

⁹⁴ "Il y avoit avec eux [Sioux] deux femmes et un de ces infâmes qui servent de femmes, quoyqu'ils soient hommes, que les Islinois appellent Ikueta [Algonquian: *Ikwe*, woman, *Ikwak*, women]." La Salle's letter of August 22, 1681, in Margry, 2: 255.—"We saw in the village of the Kappas one of those wretches who from their youth dress as girls and pander to the most shameful of all vices. But this infamous man was not of their nation; he belonged to the Illinois among whom the practice is quite common." Letter of St. Cosme in L. P. Kellogg, ed., *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699* (New York, c1917), 360.—Additional references in JR, 59: 309, note 26.

written in 1674 after interviewing Jolliet: "Il y auroit bien des choses a dire de ce baston [the calumet], aussy bien que des moeurs et des façons de faire de ces peuples [Illinois], en attendant que nous en receuions le recit nous dirons seulement . . ." But, as we have seen, Dablon never received *le recit*, and in 1678, he recast what he had written four years earlier. The following parallel passages speak for themselves:

Letter of August 1, 1674

[The calumet] est un grand mystere parmy ces peuples pour ce quil est comme un passeport et une sauvegarde pour aller en assurance partout sans qu'on ose en aucune façon offenser ceux qui portent ces caducez on n'a qu'a le montrer, et on est assuré de la vie, mesme dans le plus fort du combat, Comme il y a un baston de paix, il y en a un de guerre qui ne sont differens neantmoins que par la couleur des plumes dont ils sont couverts; le rouge es-
tant marque de guerre, et les autres couleurs signe de paix.⁹⁵

Récit

Il ne reste plus qu'a parler du Calumet, il n'est rien parmy eux ny de plus mysterieux n'y de plus recommandable, . . . C'est assez de le porter sur soy et de le faire voir pour marcher en assurance au milieu des Ennemys, qui dans le fort du Combat mettent bas les armes quand on le montre. . . . il y a un calumet pour La paix et un pour la guerre, qui ne sont distingués que par la Couleur des plumages dontz ils sont ornés: Le Rouge est marque de guerre, . . .⁹⁶

The description of the calumet dance is a variant of that given by Allouez in the Relation of 1666–1667.⁹⁷ Moreover, Dablon himself had seen Indian dances. When he arrived at Nikabau in 1660, the Indians performed a dance which, he says, was executed "avec telle cadence, que leur bal auroit trouué ses approbations en France."⁹⁸ And in 1670, at the Mascoutens village, he witnessed Illinois "dansans à la cadance de quelques airs tres-mélodieux qu'ils chantioient de tres-bon accord."⁹⁹

Two comparisons found in the *Récit* have been questioned by

⁹⁵ "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, 26 (1944): 318 f.

⁹⁶ JR, 59: 130.

⁹⁷ JR, 51: 46–48.

⁹⁸ JR, 46: 276.

⁹⁹ JR, 55: 204.

a modern critic: "There are two comparisons which one would prefer not to ascribe to Marquette. As priest and religious, whose ideas ran in other channels than those of a layman, Marquette would scarcely have likened the proboscis of a fish seen in the Mississippi with a 'woman's busk' and detected a similarity between the start of the calumet dance and 'the first scene of the ballet.'"¹⁰⁰

I do not quite understand why Marquette could not have made these two comparisons. Aside from the explanation given by Garraghan, to which reference is given in the footnote, Father Steck seems to have overlooked the fact that priests and religious in seventeenth-century France had not yet been deeply affected by the deleterious influence of that peculiar form of Puritanism known as Jansenism. The ideas of priests and religious of the Middle Ages presumably ran in the same channels as did the ideas of later clerics; yet in their writings as well as in those of bishops, popes and canonized saints, we find comparisons which are much more unexpected than comparing the proboscis of a fish with a woman's busk, or the start of the calumet dance with the first scene of the ballet. As a matter of fact, this comparison with the ballet was made some years earlier, in 1667, not by a layman, but by Father Allouez. After witnessing the calumet dance for the first time, he wrote: "On pren-droit cette danse comme vn ballet en posture."¹⁰¹

The song is *not* the calumet song, but as the Récit says, it is "one of the songs which they [Illinois] are in the habit of singing."¹⁰² As for the music score, Dablon, who was a gifted musician,¹⁰³ may have written it down while listening to the music in 1670.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Steck, *The Joliet-Marquette Expedition*, 295. The question and exclamation marks of Replplier, *Père Marquette*, 260 f, are beside the point. On the other, Garraghan's explanation (*Thought*, 4 [1929]: 59) is abundantly illustrated in A. F. Michel's article, "The Dance on the Jesuit Stage," *The Historical Bulletin*, 23 (1945): 51 ff.

¹⁰¹ JR, 51: 46.

¹⁰² As we said (*supra*, p. 177) the second fragment of Canada-4 (Marquette-4b) begins with the last six lines of the song; the whole song has seven lines and is found in Marquette-5. It is reproduced from this manuscript in the *Relations inédites*, 2: 273, and from the latter compilation by Thwaites in JR, 59: 311.

¹⁰³ "Claude Dablon," *loc. cit.*, 93.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. JR, 55: 204.—Dablon's great interest in Indian songs may be seen from what he wrote in the journal of his first voyage to the Iroquois country in 1655. JR, 42: 114-116.

SECTION 7.

We pointed out in section 6 that the date of arrival at the Peoria village, June 25, was an inference; the date of departure, "toward the end of June," confirms this deduction. For if Dablon had made use of documents containing precise dates he would have given one of these rather than use the vague expression. It is also peculiar that whereas he seems to know the day only approximately, he is able to say that the departure took place "at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon."

The reason for saying that the Indians wondered at the smallness of the explorers' canoes is that, according to Jolliet's statement to Dablon in 1674, the canoes of the Indians of this village were fifty feet long.¹⁰⁵

"On our way down, we followed the current of the river called Pekitanoui, which comes from the northwest and empties into the Mississippi. I shall have something important to say about it, after I have related what I observed along this river [the Mississippi]."¹⁰⁶ Dablon was undoubtedly distracted when he wrote the first part of this passage, for the explorers were not then descending the Missouri but the Mississippi River. We can see, however, how the mistake was made. On Marquette's map, between latitude 38° and latitude 39°, Pekitanoui flows parallel to the Mississippi a short distance to the west.

Dablon learned the original name of the Missouri River from Marquette's map,¹⁰⁷ for no other document gives this name to the river. Although after his return to Quebec, Jolliet had a vivid recollection of the Missouri, he did not remember its name.¹⁰⁸

The plants mentioned in the next two paragraphs have been identified as being probably the prickly pear, the persimmon, and

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the parallel references in "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 103.

¹⁰⁶ "We descend, following the course of the river, toward another called Pekitanoui, which empties into the Mississippi, coming from the northwest." Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 38. This is the sense, of course, but it is not the translation of the passage: "Nous descendons suivant le courant de la rivière appelle Pekitanoui, qui se décharge dans Mississipy venant du Nord-Ouest."

The Montreal manuscript originally had "Pekitanoni," but the second "n" was later corrected into a "u." There is no doubt about the spelling of the word on Marquette's map: "Pekitan8i." The second fragment of Canada-4 (Marquette-4b) has "Pekitanoui"; it is spelled "Pekitranoni" in the title of this section in Marquette-5, but in the body of this section, whenever the name is used, the spelling is "Pekitanoui."

¹⁰⁷ Gabriel Marest to Iberville, July 10, 1700, Archives du Service Hydrographique, 115-10: no. 15.

¹⁰⁸ "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 105.

the chincapin;¹⁰⁹ it is also probable that the description of these plants was supplied by Jolliet, or that it was in a lost account of the expedition.¹¹⁰ We have discussed the piasa at length and have shown that its description in the *Récit* is after a drawing originally made by Jolliet.¹¹¹

In 1674, Jolliet told Dablon that the waters of the Missouri greatly increased the swiftness of the Mississippi current, and that at the confluence "the disturbance was so great that the water was very muddy and could not become clear." It is quite probable that then or at a later date Jolliet also supplied the additional details mentioned in the *Récit*.¹¹²

Dablon had also learned from Jolliet the direction, west-northwest, whence the Missouri comes; later, when Marquette's map reached him he saw that the river was shown on this map as coming from the same direction. In the *Récit*, however, he simplified this direction and wrote that it came from the northwest. The knowledge that there were several Indian villages along the Missouri is derived from Jolliet's map, for on that of Marquette the names of Indian tribes are not placed on the bank of the river.

"Judging from the direction of the Mississippi, if it continues the same way, it must empty into the Gulf of Mexico." In 1674, Dablon had written: "The second remark concerns the terminus of this discovery. The Father and Sieur Jolliet have no doubt that [the river flows into] the Gulf of Mexico."

The remainder of the last paragraph of this section is wholly devoted to conjectural western geography; nearly all the elements of this speculation are found in the third remark of Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, with the difference that in the *Récit* Marquette is doing the theorizing.

"I learned from the Indians," Marquette is made to say, "that after ascending this river [the Missouri] for five or six days, one reached a fine prairie, twenty or thirty leagues long. After crossing this prairie in a northwesterly direction, one comes upon a small

¹⁰⁹ Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 38.

¹¹⁰ See "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 107 f.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 116-121.

¹¹² See La Salle's description in his letter of [March, 1683], Margry, 2: 180.—"Le 2 Sept. [1687]," we read in Delisle's extracts from Joutel's journal, "nous arrivames à l'emb. de la R. des Missouris ou Pequitanoni elle est aussi large que le Mississippi et est extremement rapide de maniere qu'elle doit fe. un grand rauage aussi est-ce elle qui brouille Mississippi et qui entraîne un si grand nombre d'arbres qui font de grands amas de bois en plusrs endroits." ASH, 115-9: no. 11. See in Margry, 3: 471, how De Michel abridged this passage of Joutel's journal.—What Marest wrote to Iberville in 1700 (*supra*, note 107), is amplified in JR, 66: 224.

river, on which one may embark, for it is not difficult to carry canoes across such a fine prairie. This second river flows southwestwardly for ten or fifteen leagues, and empties into a small lake which is the source of another deep river. This second river flows toward the west, and empties into the sea, which I hardly have any doubt is the Vermilion Sea."

We have here an excellent example of the wish being the father to the thought. In 1674, Dablon had written that it would have been very desirable if the Mississippi emptied into the Vermilion Sea instead of into the Gulf of Mexico; however, he had added, we should not despair of finding by way of the Missouri, a water-way to the Pacific. Perhaps, he went on to say, after ascending one of the western tributaries, which Jolliet identified with the Missouri in the dedicatory letter to Frontenac, some lake will be found which discharges its waters toward the west. In the *Récit*, this lake is said to exist, and to be the source of a river which flows toward the west where it empties into the Vermilion Sea. In addition, this lake is connected with the Missouri by means of a ten or fifteen league river and a prairie twenty or thirty leagues long.

It is of course quite possible that the Indians met by the explorers mentioned a prairie and a river, but it is unlikely that they gave their length and the direction as stated in the *Récit*. I am inclined to believe that this is nothing else than speculation on the part of Dablon. With a Sanson map of North America before one's eyes, one can to some extent reconstruct his reasoning.

Like his contemporaries, Dablon thought that the width of the American continent was one third smaller than its actual width. He saw on Marquette's map that the longitude of the mouth of the Missouri was approximately the same as that of the mouth of the Wisconsin; but he realized that it was still quite a distance from the Mar Vermejo. So he bridged this gap by saying that five or six days' journey (roughly 70 leagues) from the mouth of the Missouri, toward the northwest (the direction of the river), there was a prairie which had to be crossed also in a northwesterly direction before one reached a river flowing southwestward for ten or fifteen leagues to a small lake. In 1674 Jolliet had told Dablon that the latitude of the great river coming from the north-northwest was 38° , and he saw on Marquette's map that Pekitan8i emptied into the Mississippi at this latitude.

By means of the above data we can locate approximately the position of the "small lake" which is said to be "the source of a deep river flowing toward the west and emptying into the sea, which I

hardly have any doubt is the Vermilion Sea." This lake should be in the northwest approximately between latitudes 40° and 41° . Now, on Sanson's map of North America published in 1650 as well as on other maps published subsequently, there is a small lake above latitude 41° , and there is also a river which flows out of this lake and empties into the Mar Vermejo. The description in the *Récit* of that part of the water route to the Pacific would fit in perfectly with what we see on Sanson's map, were it not for the direction of the river which on this map flows to the southwest. The French text, however, has "au couchant" which is a more general direction than "à l'ouest," and includes other points of the compass besides due west.¹¹³

"I do not despair of discovering it [the Vermilion Seal] some day, if God grant me the grace and the health to do so, in order that I may preach the Gospel to all the peoples of this new world who have so long remained in the darkness of infidelity."

A few words of comment on the sentence "if God grant me . . . the health to do so" are in place here. When Dablon wrote the *Récit*, Marquette had died, his health broken down under the hardships endured in the missions. Until the illness of 1674 his strength was unimpaired, and he would have had no reason for writing the above sentence. He was vigorous (*vires firmae*) when he entered the Society of Jesus in 1655,¹¹⁴ and one of the reasons why he was sent in 1668 to help Allouez in the West was his "sound health and robust body."¹¹⁵

SECTION 8.

From Marquette's map Dablon knew that the explorers traveled beyond the mouth of the Missouri River twenty leagues due south and "a little less than twenty leagues toward the southeast" before reaching the mouth of the Ohio; the name of the latter river—Sabouskigou, the earliest form of Wabash—as well as the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio, he also learned from Marquette's map. Before reaching the Ohio, the *Récit* describes a whirlpool which

¹¹³ Although on Marquette's and Jolliet's map the Ohio is shown coming from the northeast, Dablon wrote that "cette riviere vient des terres du Levant." JR, 59: 144.

¹¹⁴ G. J. Garraghan, "Some Newly Discovered Marquette and La Salle Letters," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, 4 (1935): 284, note 50.

¹¹⁵ Le Mercier to Oliva, September 1, 1668, Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110, I, 44. The pertinent passage of this letter is printed and translated by G. J. Garraghan, "Some Hitherto Unpublished Marquettiana," *MID-AMERICA*, 18 (1936): 22.

seems to be the same as that mentioned by M. de St. Cosme,¹¹⁶ the source of this information may have been Jolliet or some other member of the expedition.

The general direction whence the Ohio comes and the names of the Indian tribes in the east are on Marquette's and Jolliet's maps. These Indians, says Dablon, are called Chaoüanons (Shawnee), and "are so numerous that in one district there are twenty, and in another, fifteen villages quite close together." The statement about the number of villages is derived from Jolliet's map, but Dablon mistakenly counted twenty-three instead of eighteen huts, each representing an Indian village, and he inaccurately calls the two groups of villages "Chaoüanons," whereas on Jolliet's map the group of fifteen villages is indicated as the only one inhabited by these Indians.¹¹⁷ The Iroquois raids on the Shawnee had been known in Canada long before 1678.¹¹⁸

The iron mine below the mouth of the Ohio is indicated on Jolliet's map, and the sticky earth which is said to be near the same mine is an interpretation of the inscription "terres ciselées" on the same map.¹¹⁹ Dablon very likely learned from Jolliet the detail about the dyeing of the paddle with heavy sand (probably the "sable doré" inscribed on Franquelin's map of 1678). The paddle was "dyed so deeply that the water could not wash it away during a fortnight while I [Marquette] used it for paddling." This last statement is another confirmation of what we have already said with regard to the literary device of using the first person singular; only very exceptionally did the missionaries do any paddling.

A few words from Jolliet or from Largilier would be a sufficient basis for the paragraph describing how the explorers protected themselves against mosquitoes.

We read in the *Récit* that beyond the red clay: "We perceived on the bank of the river Indians armed with guns who were awaiting us. I at once produced my plumed calumet, while our Frenchmen prepared for defense . . . I addressed them in Huron, but they answered by a word which seemed to mean war . . . what we took for a signal for battle was in reality an invitation to draw near that they might give us food"

¹¹⁶ Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 356 f.

¹¹⁷ On these two clusters of villages, see "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 113. We are sure that the number of huts, each representing a village, was 18 and 15, respectively, because Franquelin inscribed these figures on his map of 1678.

¹¹⁸ JR, 47: 144; 56: 62; Galinée in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 170, 183 f.

¹¹⁹ See "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 112.

There is a vague allusion to meeting Indians in Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674: "From time to time they met Indians by whom they were well received, thanks to their caduceus or calumet . . ." That they met Indians in the vicinity of present-day Memphis, we know from Marquette's letter, but this meeting did not occur until their return journey.¹²⁰ The problem of identifying these Indians is well-nigh insoluble.¹²¹ On Marquette's map, at the latitude of Memphis, close to the east bank of the Mississippi, a village of Mons8pelea is indicated; whereas on the anonymous copy of Jolliet's map, in the same relative position,¹²² a village of Aganatchi is indicated. There would be no doubt that Dablon combined oral testimony with the information supplied by the maps, if either of these two tribes were mentioned. As it is, we can only surmise that he did so.

"They have guns, hatchets, hoes, knives, beads, and flasks of double glass in which they put their powder." We have called attention to the fact that the information concerning the guns of these Indians may have been contained in a lost account of the voyage.¹²³ Furthermore, it should be observed that on the two Manitoumie maps and on the engraved product published by Thévenot, the Aganalt (Aganahali, Aganatchi) and the Monsoperia (Mons8pelea) are made to appear as though they were in one village, and that immediately below the names of these two tribes is the inscription: "Ils ont des fusils."¹²⁴

Oral testimony is almost certainly the source of the description of the appearance of these Indians. "They assured us that we were no more than ten days' journey from the sea; that they bought cloth and all other goods from Europeans who lived toward the east, that these Europeans had rosaries and pictures; that they played musical instruments; that some of them looked like me, and they were kindly received by these Europeans when they visited them."¹²⁵

¹²⁰ "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 51.

¹²¹ Some think that these Indians were Chickasaw, others that they were akin to the Taensa.

¹²² We say "relative position" because on this copy of Jolliet's map, the latitudes of all identifiable points are inaccurate. Cf. "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 96.

¹²³ "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 8.

¹²⁴ An alternative possible source is discussed in "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 112.

¹²⁵ The translation of the last sentence in JR, 59: 149, is faulty. "Et qu'ils en estoient bien receu," or as in Marquette-5 "dont ils en estoient bien receus," does not mean "who had been kindly received by these savages" but "who [the Europeans in the east] received them [Indians] kindly."

As we shall see, 150 miles below Memphis, they were also told that they were ten days' journey from the sea. At Memphis, they were 860 miles from the Gulf, half way down from the point at which they had entered the Mississippi. It should also be remarked that if the Mons8pelea are the Indians referred to by Marquette in his letter, it is difficult to see how they could have imparted this information as well as the description of the Europeans in the east, for Marquette wrote that he understood nothing of what the Indians were saying: "cum ab ipsis nihil intel[1]igerem."

"We were near latitude 33° , having followed nearly all the time a southerly direction." This is the latitude of the terminus of the expedition which Jolliet gave Dablon in July 1674, and in October of the same year, he wrote to Laval that he had decided to return when he reached this point. As the wording shows, this latitude is an approximation; to be consistent with the latitude given in the next paragraph it should be 34° . The general direction followed is also found in Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674: "Ils ont marche jusques au 33° [degré] . . . leur route ayant presque toujours été vers le sud."

They were near latitude 33° when they "sighted on the water's edge a village called Michigamea." On Marquette's map as well as on the maps based on that of Jolliet, there is a village of that name on the west bank of the Mississippi. We have discussed the probable reason why this village which was inhabited by Quapaw is called Michigamea.¹²⁶ The hostility of the Indians, their change of attitude after seeing the calumet, and the outcome of the encounter, bear a distinct similarity to the previous episode.

"At first we had to speak by signs, because none of them understood the six languages which I spoke." The Quapaw spoke a Siouan dialect which Marquette did not know,¹²⁷ but he knew Huron and was very proficient in Algonquian.¹²⁸ The six languages mentioned by Dablon in the above quotation should be understood to mean, besides Huron and Algonquian, the dialects spoken by the various tribes near La Pointe (Chippewa, Kiskakon, Ottawa Sinago), and Illinois which Marquette had learned in

¹²⁶ "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 45-47.

¹²⁷ In his letter of the spring of 1670, Marquette wrote as follows: "Ils [Sioux] ont une langue toute différente de l'Algonquine, & de la Huronne . . . Je leur ay envoyé un présent par l'Interprète . . ." JR, 54: 190, 192.

¹²⁸ "Lingua Algonquina peritus," wrote Le Mercier to Oliva, September 1, 1668. *Supra*, note 115.

1670. This interpretation is borne out by what we read in the Relation of 1671-1672. In his summary of the apostolic labors of Father Allouez, Dablon wrote about the almost incredible hardships undergone by Allouez in preaching the Faith to "peuples de cinq langues différentes," and he stated that in the Mascoutens village there were "trois peuples de langues différentes."¹²⁹ Now we know that these five, and especially these three different languages were Algonquian dialects.

Through an old man who could speak a little Illinois they were informed that they would learn all about the sea at another village "named Akamsea, which was only eight or ten leagues lower down." We have shown elsewhere that when Dablon says that "Akamsea" is located eight or ten leagues below Michigamea, he is interpreting Marquette's map on which there is a village called "Akanséa" eight or ten leagues from Michigamea. We also identified "Akanséa" with Tongigua, one of the four villages of the Arkansas group, and pointed out that Tongigua was not "large," for its very name means "little village."¹³⁰

SECTION 9.

On the day following their arrival at Michigamea, they left for Akamsea with the old man who knew a little Illinois. "Fortunately, we found there a young man who spoke Illinois much better than the interpreter whom we had brought from Michigamea." Through this second interpreter, the Indians were asked what they knew about the sea. They replied that it was ten days' journey away; but, adds the Récit, "we could have covered the distance in five days."

We shall try to reconstruct Dablon's reasoning for saying that the sea could have been reached in five days. In 1674, Jolliet had told Frontenac that he had gone within ten days' journey from the sea; and we saw in the preceding section that the Indians whom they had met had also said that they were ten days away from the sea. By considering the latitudes on Marquette's map, Dablon saw that the Mosopelea were at latitude 35° , two degrees above the lowest point which Jolliet said he reached, and on all the maps of the period the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico ran between the 31st and the 32d parallels. Hence, he reasoned, if they were ten days' journey from the sea when they met the first Indians, they could have reached it in half the time, because for all Dablon knew,

¹²⁹ JR, 56: 140, 142.

¹³⁰ "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 46.

the Arkansas village was half way between where the Mosopelea are located on Marquette's map and the Gulf of Mexico. He had all the more reason to believe that this was correct, because Jolliet had told him in 1674 that he was within fifty leagues, that is, two degrees from the sea.

As a matter of fact, the lowest point reached was still more than 700 miles from the sea; and if it took them a month to travel over the thousand miles from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the Arkansas village, at the same rate of travel the voyage from this village to the sea would have taken them three weeks.

At "Akamsea," the Indians said that "they were not acquainted with the tribes that dwelt near the sea, because their enemies prevented them from trading with Europeans; that the hatchets, knives, and beads which we saw were sold to them partly by nations from the east,¹³¹ partly by Illinois Indians in a village situated four days' journey to the west."¹³²

In the remainder of this paragraph of the *Récit* there is a statement which cannot be easily explained. The Quapaw told the explorers that the Indians with guns whom they had met were their enemies who blocked the way to the sea and who prevented them from trading with Europeans. These Indians, they added, would endanger the lives of the explorers if they persisted in descending to the sea, because of the continual forays along the river and the constant watch maintained by these warlike enemies armed with guns.

On Marquette's map a village of "Mons8pelea" is inscribed close to the east bank of the Mississippi at latitude 35°; and on the Manitoumie map the "Mons8peria" (a variant of Mons8pelea) are located at the same latitude but 100 miles inland, and underneath this name is the inscription "ils ont des fusils." On the same Manitoumie map, also 100 miles inland on the east side of the Mississippi, between the Arkansas and the Gulf, there is another "Mons8peria" village; whereas on the anonymous copy of the map which Jolliet drew from memory, this southern Mons8peria (written M8ns8peria) is the only one which is indicated, without, however, any inscription to the effect that these Indians have guns. The source of the information inscribed underneath the northern "Mons8peria" may have been Jolliet himself, or else this information may have been contained in a lost account of the discovery of the

¹³¹ It should be noted that the Indians whom they had first met had said that they received their goods "from Europeans who lived in the east."

¹³² On the source of this passage of the *Récit*, cf. "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 47.

Mississippi. The latter hypothesis is suggested by the fact that the anonymous compiler of a résumé of the narrative of the expedition wrote: "Those [Indians] who are near the sea have a few guns."¹³³

On the basis of these data, we suggest the following solutions of the difficulty presented by the text of the Récit. We have shown elsewhere that Dablon is very likely the author of the original draft of the Manitoumie map, and that this map is practically a copy of the one drawn by Jolliet from memory, with the addition of a few legends taken from Marquette's map.¹³⁴ When Dablon wrote the Récit, he may have concluded that since the Mons8peria above the Arkansas had guns, those below the Arkansas had guns also. Another solution is that Dablon may have had the lost account of the discovery of the Mississippi, in which it was said that the Indians near the sea had a few guns; he may have concluded that they were Mons8peria, because he had learned that these Indians above the Arkansas had guns and because on Jolliet's map they were inscribed between the Arkansas and the sea.

I am well aware that these solutions or explanations of the difficulty are unsatisfactory, but they are based on the meager evidence available. A similar difficulty is encountered when one tries to reconcile Dablon's interpretation of the geography and nomenclature of the Arkansas region with the geography and nomenclature of that region as supplied by the scanty cartographical evidence of the voyage.

Most of the matter of the paragraph in which the Quapaw are described is derived from oral testimony, but there are quite a few details which are found in written evidence, as is apparent from the following parallel passages:

Letter of August 1, 1674

Ce sol est si fertile quils trois fois l'année du bled. Il produit naturellement des fruits qui nous sont inconnus, . . . et quantité d'autres [fruits] se cueillent partout, et presque en tout temps, aussy n'y connoist ton l'hyver que par les pluyes.

Jolliet's dedicatory letter

Ils font du bled d'Inde la plus part trois fois l'année, et tous les [aliter, des] melons d'eau pour se rafraîchir dans les chaleurs qui ne permettent point de glace et fort peu de neige.

¹³³ Cf. "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 3-8; "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *ibid.*, 110-112.

¹³⁴ "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 83, 84, 86, 114 f.

Récit

Ils ont le bled d'inde en abondance qu'ils sement en toutes saisons . . . de sorte qu'ils sement trois fois l'an . . . Ils ne voyent jamais de neige chez eux, et ne connoissent l'hyver que par Les pluyes qui y tombent plus souvent qu'en esté; nous n'y avons pas mangé de fruitz que des melons d'eau.

In the evening, the elders held a secret council; some wanted to put the strangers to death and rob them. But the chief of the village intervened, sent for the explorers, "danced the calumet dance before us . . . , and in order to banish all fear, made me [Marquette] a present of the calumet."

The following passage from Father Gravier's journal shows first, the trustworthiness of the oral testimony given to Dablon, and second, that Marquette kept a journal. After arriving at the Quapaw village on October 31, 1700, Gravier inquired from the chief whether he remembered having seen a Frenchman clad like himself in black. The chief said that he did, but that it was long, long ago.

I told him that it was more than twenty-eight [*i. e.*, twenty-seven] years ago. He added that they had danced to him the captain's calumet—which I did not at first understand, believing that he was speaking of the calumet of the Illinois, which the Kaskaskia had given to Father Marquette to carry with him in the Mississippi country as a safeguard; but I found in the Father's journal that they had indeed danced the calumet to him.¹³⁵

By juxtaposing the last paragraph of this section with statements found in Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, the source from which this paragraph is derived will at once be evident.

Letter of August 1, 1674

Ce fut pour lors que le pere et le Sr. Joliet delibererent sur ce qu'il auoient a faire, scauoir s'il estoit expedient de passer outre . . .

Récit

Nous fismes Mr Joliet et Moy un autre Conseil, pour delibérer sur ce que nous avions à faire si nous pousserions [pas-serions, in M-5] oultre ou si nous contenterions de la decouverte que nous avions faite. Apres avoir attentivement consideré que nous n'estions pas loing du golphe Mexique dont le basin estant a la hauteur de 31 degréz 60' [31°40' in

¹³⁵ JR, 65: 120.

. . . qu'ils [Joliet and Marquette] n'en [from Europeans] estoient esloignés que de trois journées puis de deux journées seulement . . . Le pere et le S^r Joliet ne doutent point que ce soit [mouth of the Mississippi] vers le golphe Mexique, qui est la floride parce que du costé du leuant ce ne peut pas estre la virginie, dont le bord de la mer est au plus au 34^e degré de l'eleuation, et eux ont marché jusques au 33^e, et cependant n'ont approché de la mer que de 50 lieües: du costé du couchant ce ne peut pas aus sy estre la mer vermeille, par ce que leur route ayant presque toujours esté vers le sud, les en detournoit.

[Marquette and Joliet] ne doutant point qu'ils n'allassent se jettter entre les mains des Espagnols de la floride, s'ils auançoient d'avantage, . . . qu'ils perdroient le fruit de de leur trauuaux et qu'il n'en pourroient pas donner connoissance s'ils estoient arrestés prisonniers . . .

Ces raisons leur firent prendre resolution de retourner sur leurs pas, apres s'estre informés de Tout ce qu'on peut souhaiter dans une pareille ren-contre.¹³⁶

M-4b and in Thévenot], et nous nous trouvant a 33, 40 minutes nous ne pouvions pas en estre eloignez de plus de 2 ou 3 journées qu'indubitablement la riviere Missisipi avoit sa decharge dans la floride ou golphe Mexique, n'on [non] pas du costé de L'Est dans la Virginie dont le bord de la mer est a est a 34 degréz que nous avons avons passéz sans neantmoins estre encor arrivés à la mer, non pas du costé de l'ouest a la Californie, parce que nous devions pour cela avoir notre route a L'ouest, où a l'ouest sorouest et nous L'avons tousjour eu au sud.

Nous considerâmes de plus que nous nous exposions a perdre le fruct de ce voyage duquel nous ne pourrions pas donner aucune connoissance, si nous allions nous jettter entre les mains des Espagnols qui sans doute nous auroient du moins retenus captifs . . .

Enfin, nous avions pris toutes les connoissances qu'on peut souhaiter dans cette decouverte toutes ces raisons firent conclure pour Le Retour, . . .¹³⁷

¹³⁶ "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 320, 319, 321, 320.

¹³⁷ JR, 59: 158-160.

The latitude of the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico ($31^{\circ}60'$) is evidently a *lapsus calami* on the part of the copyist of the Montreal manuscript, for Marquette-4b has the latitude ($31^{\circ}40'$) as Dablon originally wrote it. On the Manitoumie maps, the latitude in the inscription: "On est venu iusques ici à la hauteur de 33 degrés," is that which Jolliet gave to Dablon in 1674 and mentioned in his letter to Laval, dated October 10 of the same year. On the same Manitoumie maps a cross indicating the terminus of the expedition is inscribed on the west bank of the Mississippi at latitude $33^{\circ}40'$, which is the position of "Akansea" on Marquette's map; on this map, however, the village is located on the east bank of the Mississippi. We have established elsewhere that the Quapaw village,¹³⁸ the terminus of the expedition, was the northernmost village of the Arkansas group, and was situated on the west bank of the Mississippi, in the vicinity of present-day Knowlton, Arkansas, between latitudes $34^{\circ}5'$ and $34^{\circ}10'$.

SECTION 10.

One of the peculiar features of the Récit is the account of the return voyage which comprises only two paragraphs of the shortest section of the whole document. It is true that from the Quapaw village to the mouth of the Illinois River, the explorers went over the same route, but the ascent of the Illinois River to the Kankakee, then up the Des Plaines to Chicago, and thence northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Sturgeon Bay, where they portaged to Green Bay, was over rivers and along shores until then altogether unknown. In 1673, although white men knew of the existence of a great river in the West, its course from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas was unknown, except through vague reports obtained from the Indians, and had never before been descended by Europeans. Also from vague Indian reports, the French had a hypothetical knowledge of the Ohio, but there is no valid evidence that white men suspected the existence of the Missouri or of the Illinois rivers.

The explorers of 1673 only saw the mouth of the two great tributaries of the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Ohio, but from the mouth of the Illinois River to Sturgeon Bay, a distance equal to that from the Quapaw village to the Illinois, they traveled over unknown territory. Yet all this is dispatched in a few lines.

¹³⁸ "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River, loc. cit., 41-44.

"After one month's navigation, having descended the Mississippi from latitude 42° to beyond latitude 34° . . . we left the Arkansas village on July 17." The difference between the latitude of the mouth of the Wisconsin previously given in section 3 of the *Récit* ($42^{\circ}30'$), and that given in this section, shows that in summing up the voyage Dablon was not concerned with strict accuracy. The same is true with regard to the lowest latitude, "beyond 34° ," which in the preceding section is specified as being $33^{\circ}40'$.

The time which it took the explorers to travel over this distance—one month—was obtained from Jolliet or from Largilier, or could have been approximately computed by means of other data in the *Récit*. For instance, Dablon had written that it took eight days to go from the mouth of the Wisconsin (latitude $42^{\circ}30'$) to the village of the Peoria (latitude 40° and a few minutes); it was a simple matter to calculate the time it would take to go from the mouth of the Wisconsin to latitude $33^{\circ}40'$. The exact date when the explorers began the return journey, July 17, is one month after the date when they are said to have entered the Mississippi, June 17.

The difficulties experienced in breasting the current of the river had been mentioned by Jolliet in 1674. Above the mouth of a large river which comes from the west-northwest (the Missouri), he had said, the Mississippi flows very gently, but below the Missouri "it becomes very swift, and its current is so strong that in ascending it one can only make four or five leagues a day, paddling from morning to night."

"We left the Mississippi at about latitude 38° to enter into another river which greatly shortens the way and with little effort led us to the Lake of the Illinois." On Marquette's map, the mouth of the Illinois River is at "about latitude 38° "; also on Marquette's map, the Illinois-Des Plaines appears as one river with its headwaters near Lake Michigan.

For the brief description of the Illinois country, Dablon utilized two paragraphs of his own letter of August 1, 1674, which contains Jolliet's enthusiastic account of the fertility of the region.

The length of the Chicago portage, half a league, is mentioned in the same letter. The name of the Illinois village is on Marquette's and on Jolliet's map; but when he wrote the *Récit*, Dablon had Marquette's journal of his second voyage and spelled the name—Kaskaskia—as it is spelled in this journal. He must have learned from Jolliet that an Illinois chief accompanied the party to Chicago, or deduced it from Largilier's mention of what took place on Marquette's return from his second voyage to the Illinois country: "Ces

bonnes gens [Illinois] . . . vouleurent l'accompagner . . . pendant plus de 30 lieues de chemin."¹³⁹

In his letter of August 1, 1674, Dablon wrote that the explorers reached the "baye des puants [*i. e.*, the St. Francis Xavier mission] sur la fin de Nouembre"; whereas in the Récit the date of their arrival there is said to be "toward the end of September." The latter date is more nearly correct for the following reasons. We are fairly certain that the expedition reached the Mississippi in the middle of June, and it must have taken about a month to go from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the Quapaw village, a distance of more than one thousand miles. Thus the return journey began about the middle of July. Jolliet told Dablon that below the Missouri, the current of the Mississippi is so swift that they could not make more than four or five leagues a day, that is, about fifteen miles. Since the distance from the Quapaw village to the mouth of the Illinois is nearly 600 miles, they would at this rate have reached the mouth of the Illinois River toward the end of August. The journey from Grafton, Illinois, to Lake Michigan—325 miles—and their stop-over at the Kaskaskia village took three weeks. Hence they reached Chicago sometime during the last ten days of September.

The above reasoning is confirmed by what we read in Joutel's journal. In 1687, Joutel left the same Quapaw village on August 2, was at the mouth of the Illinois River on September 3, and at Starved Rock by September 14. In the following year, he left Starved Rock on March 21, and was at the Chicago portage by the 29th.¹⁴⁰ Further confirmation of this is to be had from an entry in Marquette's journal of his second voyage. On March 31, 1675, at the Chicago portage, he wrote: "This is where we began our portage eighteen months ago,"¹⁴¹ *i. e.*, at the end of September 1673.

The distance along the west shore of Lake Michigan from Chicago to Sturgeon Bay, where they portaged,¹⁴² is 225 miles, and from Sturgeon Bay to the St. Francis Xavier mission another fifty miles, a two weeks' journey. Accordingly the party must have arrived at the St. Francis Xavier mission before the middle of October.

The last paragraph of the Récit expresses what all the missionaries felt: no pain, no hardship was considered too great when the

¹³⁹ JR, 59: 190.

¹⁴⁰ Margry, 3: 463, 471, 477, 508, 509.

¹⁴¹ JR, 59: 180.

¹⁴² Marquette's journal, *ibid.*, 166.

salvation of a single soul was at stake.¹⁴³ The fact that Marquette baptized a dying child would have been mentioned by Jolliet or by Largilier.

CONCLUSION

The reader is now in a position to judge whether there is anything of importance in the *Récit* which is not found in the extant sources enumerated in the first part of this article. He is also in a position to determine whether the *Récit* is Marquette's journal or Marquette's notes edited by Dablon and whether the latter had any need of a Jolliet journal as a source of his information.

Before comparing some passages of the *Récit* with corresponding passages of the letter of August 1, 1674, and of Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac, Father Steck brings forward a number of arguments against Marquette's authorship which are entirely inconclusive. He contrasts the clearness and precision of Marquette's journal of his second voyage with the vagueness of the *Récit* with regard to time and place.¹⁴⁴ But every instance of vagueness which he cites is paralleled by the vagueness of a letter of Father Zénobe Membré, who descended the Mississippi with La Salle in 1682.¹⁴⁵ From this letter, we cannot tell "whether the Frenchmen are on the east bank of the Mississippi or on its west bank"; there is no indication whatever of "the day on which they first sighted the great river." In order to know these facts, we must have recourse to maps and contemporary accounts just as we have done in the case of the *Récit*. There is just as much reason for questioning the authenticity of Membré's letter because of its vagueness, as there is for

¹⁴³ Compare what Dablon says in this paragraph with what Charlevoix wrote the daughter of the chief of the Pimitoui village: "Mon voyage dût-il être d'ailleurs tout-à-fait inutile, je vous avoué, Madame, que je n'en regretterois pas les fatigues & les dangers, puisque selon toutes les apparences, si je n'étois pas venu à Pimiteouy, cette Enfant ne seroit jamais entrée dans le Ciel où je doute pas qu'elle ne soit bientôt." *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France, avec le Journal historique d'un Voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (3 vols., Paris, 1744), 3: 389.

¹⁴⁴ *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 294.

¹⁴⁵ A copy of this letter is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Clairambault, 1016: 163-165v, printed in Margry, 2: 206-212. It should not be confused with the narrative attributed to Membré in C. Le Clercq, *Premier établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France* (2 vols., Paris, 1691), 2, Chapters 22 and 23. Notwithstanding the opening sentence: "The following is, then, word for word what that good religious has written concerning" La Salle's voyages from 1680 to 1682, Father Membré is no more the author of this narrative than Marquette is the author of the *Récit*.

questioning the authenticity of the *Récit* because of its lack of precision with regard to time and place.

"Regarding the subject matter," says Father Steck, "there are five descriptions in the narrative [Récit] that are quite foreign to its scope."¹⁴⁶ This is quite true, but it has nothing to do with the question of authenticity. Membré's letter, too, contains matter which is "foreign to its scope."

"Besides these five digressions there are two comparisons which one would prefer not ascribe to Marquette." We have already shown, in commenting on these two comparisons,¹⁴⁷ that such a preference would be as groundless as it is irrelevant to the question of authorship.

"Again," he remarks, "there are three omissions, one of which immediately strikes the reader as very extraordinary," that is, there is no mention of Marquette having said Mass from May to September. Father Steck disposes of the objection "that the missionaries were not accustomed to say Holy Mass on such expeditions and under such circumstances," by calling attention to the number of times Marquette speaks of saying Mass in the journal of his second voyage, and he could have numerous instances of the practice of other Jesuit missionaries.¹⁴⁸ By itself, however, the fact that the *Récit* contains no mention of saying Mass does not affect the question of authenticity; there is a similar omission in Membré's letter.

Of the other two omissions, only the second needs be discussed, for the third has been dealt with elsewhere.¹⁴⁹ This second omission is the failure of the *Récit* to mention the letter which Marquette wrote on August 4, 1673. "If that letter is genuine, why does the narrative not make some reference to it?"¹⁵⁰ The genuinity of this letter is entirely independent of the *Récit*; its authenticity is established on quite different grounds, for, as Alvord remarked, "in August 1673, Marquette was the only man in the world calling the Mississippi River by the name 'Conception.'"¹⁵¹ "The fact of having written it," says Father Steck, "as also the insertion of a copy would have been just as interesting and certainly as pertinent as some other matter contained in the narrative." The fact that Mar-

¹⁴⁶ *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 295.

¹⁴⁷ *Supra*, p. 240.

¹⁴⁸ Nouvel, JR, 49: 40, 46, 48; Allouez, JR, 50: 266; Albanel, JR, 56: 178, 186.

¹⁴⁹ "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, note 37.

¹⁵⁰ *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 296.

¹⁵¹ C. W. Alvord, "An Unrecognized Father Marquette Letter," *The American Historical Review*, 25 (1920): 677.

quette wrote this letter was very likely mentioned in his journal, just as he mentions in the journal of his second voyage that he gave Illinois Indians letters for the Jesuits at St. Francis Xavier mission.¹⁵² Of course the insertion of the letter would have been "interesting and pertinent," but one does not usually question the authenticity of a document on the grounds that it omits interesting and pertinent matter. For instance, the authenticity of Albanel's journal of his voyage to Hudson Bay in 1671, is not questioned because, although he mentions the reception of Bishop Laval's letters-patent as well as Courcelle's and Talon's passports—undoubtedly interesting and pertinent documents—he did not insert copies of them in his journal.¹⁵³

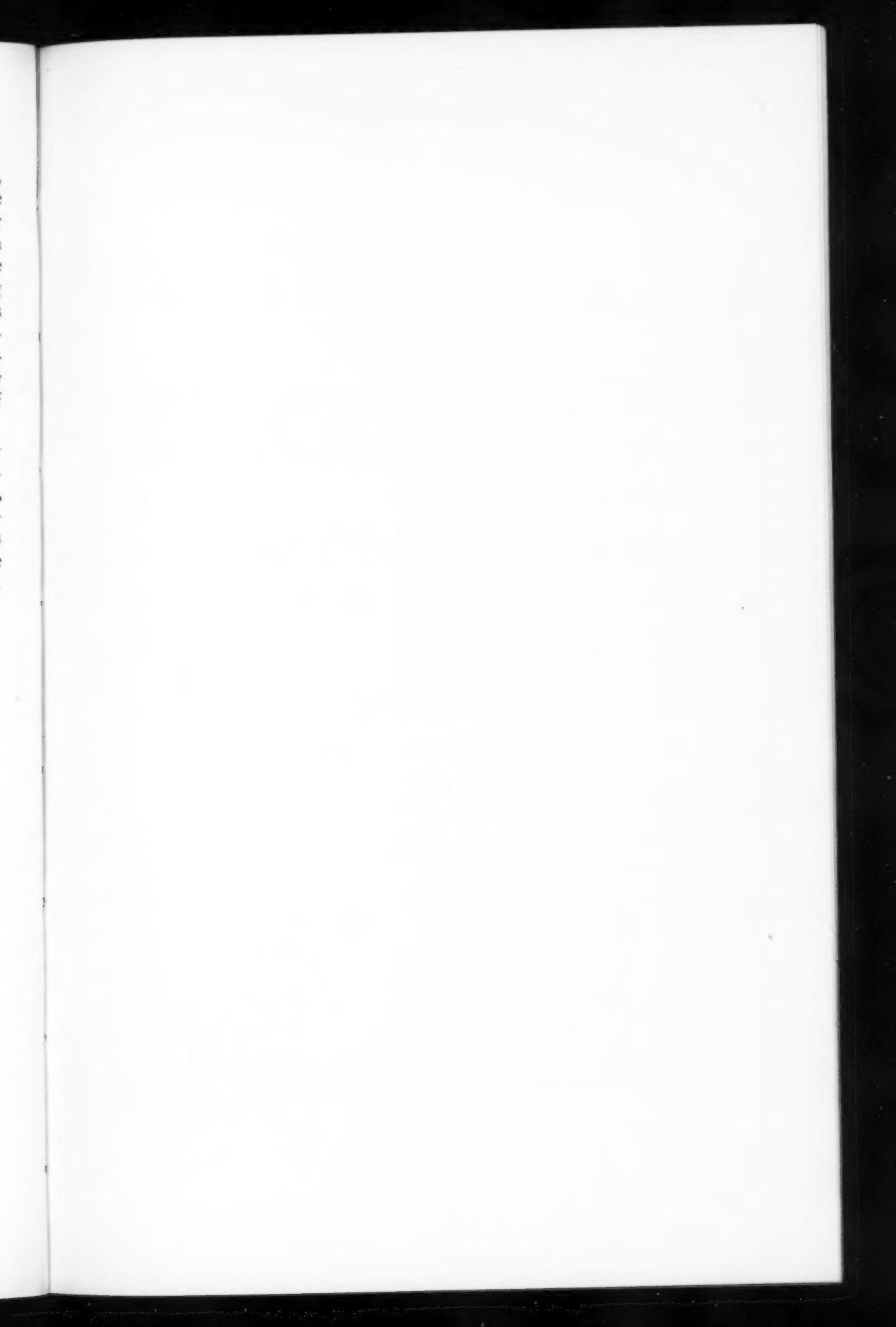
Father Steck, as we have already said, deserves credit for insisting on the fact that Marquette was not the author of the *Récit*. His above-mentioned arguments against Marquette's authorship, however, are completely lacking in probative force. We have attempted in the preceding pages not only to disprove Marquette's authorship conclusively, but also to indicate the real author of the document and to make clear the sources on which its author relied.

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¹⁵² JR, 59: 178.

¹⁵³ JR, 56: 158.



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MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXVIII

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Names of the contributors are in small capitals; titles of articles in this volume are in quotation marks; titles of books and periodicals reviewed or mentioned are in italics. Book reviews are entered under author and title of book, and under the name of the reviewer; no entries are made for subject of the book except in the case of biographies. The following abbreviations are used: tr., translator; ed., editor; revs., reviews; revd., reviewed.

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